PAPERS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

Vol. IV.

PRINTED FOR THE SUBSCRIBERS AND SOLD ON THEIR BEHALF BY

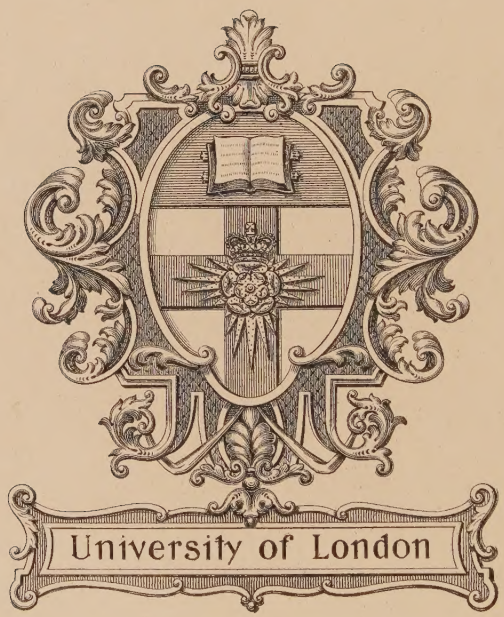
MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED

LONDON

1907

PRICE 31/6 NET

63 Periodicals [British School]



SHL
WITHDRAWN

PAPERS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/papers-of-the-british-school-at-rome_1907_4

PAPERS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

Vol. IV

PRINTED FOR THE SUBSCRIBERS AND SOLD ON THEIR BEHALF BY
MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED
LONDON
1907

13678.

RICHARD CLAY AND SONS, LIMITED,
BREAD STREET HILL, E.C., AND
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

BIBL.
LONDIN.
UNIV.

PREFACE.

THE present volume of the *Papers of the British School at Rome*, the fourth of the series, is the first that has appeared without a prefatory note from the pen of Professor H. F. Pelham; and, as its editor, I cannot but take the present opportunity of saying how deeply his loss is felt by all those connected with the School. He was in large measure responsible for its foundation, and, as Chairman of the Managing Committee, did it splendid service, promoting its interests both by his personal activity and by his influence with others. His friends have appealed for subscriptions for the purpose of founding an Oxford Studentship to be held at the School. Such an endowment, if (as there is every reason to hope) it is happily accomplished, will be the most appropriate memorial of what he has done for it and for the cause of archaeological and historical research in England.

Of the longer papers in the present volume, that contributed by Mr. S. J. A. Churchill may be especially mentioned, as showing how wide is the range of subjects with which the School must always be prepared to deal, and the diversity of the interests with which it is legitimately and properly concerned. Those written by Mr. Wace and myself, on the other hand, are rather to be regarded as continuations of our previous papers in Vol. III; while those of Mr. Yeames and Mr. Peet, the latter especially, though still belonging to the archaeological sphere, deal with departments of it which have not previously found a place in the *Papers* of the School.

THOMAS ASHBY,

Director of the British School at Rome.

CONTENTS.

			PAGE
	PREFACE. By T. ASHBY	. . . . .	v
1.	T. ASHBY.	The Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna.—III. (The Via Latina).—Section I. .	1
2.	S. J. A. CHURCHILL.	The Goldsmiths of Rome under the Papal Authority: their Statutes hitherto discovered, and a Bibliography	161
3.	A. J. B. WACE.	Studies in Roman Historical Reliefs . . .	227
4.	A. H. S. YEAMES.	An Ivory Statuette	277
5.	T. E. PEET.	The Early Iron Age in South Italy . . .	283

LIST OF PLATES

(WITH THE PAGES OF THE TEXT IN WHICH REFERENCE IS MADE TO THEM)

1. THE CLASSICAL TOPOGRAPHY OF THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA, PART III. :—

PLATE		PAGE
I,	Fig. 1. The Porta Latina	13
	Fig. 2. Frontispiece to Sir R. Colt Hoare's views of the Via Latina	23
II,	Fig. 1. Tombs on the Via Latina (Sketch by Sir R. Colt Hoare)	33
	Fig. 2. Villa called Ruderi delle Vignacce	74
III,	Fig. 1. Objects at the Casale of Roma Vecchia	86
	Fig. 2. Sette Bassi. Great Hall on N.W.	104
IV,	Fig. 1. Sette Bassi, from N.W. (N.W. portion)	104
	Fig. 2. Sette Bassi, from W.N.W. (E. portion)	101
V,	Fig. 1. Sette Bassi, from S.W. (W. portion)	106
	Fig. 2. Sette Bassi from S.E. (N.W. portion)	101
VI,	General plan of the villa called Sette Bassi	98 *sqq.*
VII,	Central portion of the villa called Sette Bassi	98 *sqq.*
VIII,	Central portion of the villa called Sette Bassi : plan of substructions	98 *sqq.*
IX,	Villa called Sette Bassi : buildings on N.E	98 *sqq.*
X,	Fig. 1. Aqueduct near Osteria del Curato	140
	Fig. 2. Aqueduct near Muro Linari	146
XI,	Fig. 1. Centroni from N.W.	121
	Fig. 2. Exterior of corridor on N.W., Centroni	122
XII,	Ruins of the villa called Centroni	121
XIII,	Quarries in the hill under Centroni	123

PLATE PAGE

XIV, Fig. 1. Torrone di Micara 134
Fig. 2. Terracotta disk from near Ponte di Nona . . . 159
XV, Plan of the substructions of the villa near Fontana Piscaro . 136

KEY MAP to Vols. I, III, IV and TWO DETAIL MAPS (I, II) in pocket at end of Volume.

2. THE GOLDSMITHS OF ROME UNDER THE PAPAL AUTHORITY:—

XVI, Fig. 1. Copper-plates with Goldsmiths' names and marks . . 180
Figs. 2, 3. Agnus Dei of Innocent XII 184
XVII, Fig. 1. Goldsmiths' marks of the seventeenth century . . . 180
Fig. 2. Goldsmiths' marks of the Papal States 180
XVIII, Fig. 1. Seals of John XXII, Gregory XIII, and Innocent VIII 184
Fig. 2. The same seals (reverse) 184
Fig. 3. Seal of Paul II 185
XIX, Fig. 1. Reliquary at S. Mauro Castelverde (front) . . . 185
Fig. 2. The same (back) 185

3. STUDIES IN ROMAN HISTORICAL RELIEFS:—

XX, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 3439 f. 83 230
XXI, „ „ „ „ f. 85 230
XXII, „ „ „ „ f. 86 230
XXIII, „ „ „ „ f. 88 230
XXIV, „ „ „ „ f. 94 230
XXV, Trajanic Relief in the Louvre (1089) 236
XXVI, „ „ „ „ „ (978; left half) 236
XXVII, Aurelian Relief in the Louvre (1098) 236
XXVIII, Trajanic Relief on the Arch of Constantine 237
XXIX, Reconstructed Drawing of Trajanic Relief 236
XXX, Fragments of a Triumphal Procession 237
XXXI, Aurelian Relief in Louvre, Reconstructed Drawing . . . 237
XXXII, Fragments of Sacrificial Scene 237

PLATE PAGE

XXXIII, Reliefs from the Arco di Portogallo.
Fig. 1. Hadrian pronouncing the *Laudatio Memoriae* of Sabina 258
Fig. 2. Apotheosis of Sabina 259

XXXIV, Relief in the Palazzo Sacchetti 263

XXXV, Reliefs of the Frieze of the Arch of Constantine, South side . 272
Fig. 1. The Rout of Maxentius by Constantine at the Pons Mulvius.
Fig. 2. The siege of Verona by Constantine.

XXXVI, Reliefs of the Frieze of the Arch of Constantine, North side . 272
Fig. 1. Congiarium of Diocletian.
Fig. 2. Diocletian making a proclamation from the Rostra.

XXXVII, Reliefs of the Frieze of the Arch of Constantine, East and West ends 272
Fig. 1. Triumphal procession of Diocletian.
Fig. 2. Part of triumphal procession of Diocletian.

5. THE EARLY IRON AGE IN SOUTH ITALY :—

XXXVIII, Map to show the distribution of civilizations in Italy in the Iron Age 288

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT.

PAGE

PAPER 1.—The Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna :—

Fig. 1. Part of a 16th cent. map of the Campagna 45

PAPER 3.—Studies in Roman Historical Reliefs :—

Fig. 1. The 'Horatius' of the Villa Medici 243

Fig. 2. Relief in the Lateran 245

Fig. 3. Relief from the Mattei collection, now in the Louvre . . 246

Fig. 4. Caracallus on the Sacchetti Relief 265

Fig. 5. Caracallus in the Capitol 265

Fig. 6. Angle of the *suggestus* on the Sacchetti Relief 268

PAPER 4.—An Ivory Statuette :—

Fig. 1. Ivory Statuette of a hunchback in the British Museum . . 280

Fig. 2. Bronze Statuette of a hunchback at Vienna 281

ERRATA.

Pl. XXXIII *Dele* Phot. Anderson.

Pl. XXXV. *For* 'Anderson' *read* 'Faraglia.'

Pl. XXXVI. *For* 'Anderson' *read* 'Faraglia.'

Page 5, l. 15. *For* '1856' *read* '1857.'

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.

VOL. IV. NO. I.

THE CLASSICAL TOPOGRAPHY

OF THE

ROMAN CAMPAGNA

PART III

SECTION I

BY

T. ASHBY, D.LITT., F.S.A.

Director of the British School at Rome; formerly Craven Fellow in the University of Oxford;
Corresponding Member of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute.

LONDON: 1907.

THE VIA LATINA.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Via Latina forms the third portion of the description of the *Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna*, of which two parts have already appeared in these *Papers* (Via Collatina, Via Praenestina, and Via Labicana, i. 125 *sqq.*; Via Salaria, Via Nomentana, and Via Tiburtina, iii. 1 *sqq.*). The general remarks made in the introductions apply, in the main, to the present portion also: and the preliminary matter may, therefore, be comparatively brief. It is fortunate that Professor Tomassetti has dealt fully with the mediaeval topography of the Via Latina in *La Via Latina nel Medio Evo* (Rome, 1886, reprinted from the *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*). This indispensable work contains also a very large amount of information as to the classical period, and it will be necessary to cite it constantly in these pages.

The Via Latina originated (cf. *Papers*, i. 128) during the gradual establishment of the Latin League in the form in which it appears as completed about 370 B.C. The dates of the various military operations given by Livy as occurring *in Algido* must not, naturally, be pressed; we can only say generally that the pass of Algidus was a position of considerable importance in the warfare against the Aequi in 465–389 B.C., and that the road must have gone at least so far—possibly further, inasmuch as Signia is said to have been founded by Tarquinius Superbus, and a fresh colony sent there in 495 B.C. Nor can we fix the date of the transformation of the Via Latina into a permanent military highway. It is noteworthy that it never lost its ancient name: and this may be due to the fact that the difficulties of engineering that had to be overcome were so slight that it never required any one thorough reconstruction of which an individual could claim the credit, and so associate his own name with it for the future.

The construction of the Via Appia, on the other hand, especially of the section through the Pomptine marshes, was a matter of far greater difficulty, and probably undertaken at a later period. Capua joined Rome between 340 and 338 B.C. In 334 B.C. according to the traditional dating comes the foundation of the Latin colony at Cales with 2500 men, which for a long time was the centre of Roman rule in Campania; that of Fregellae follows in 328, and that of Interamna Lirenas Sucusina in 312. We may therefore infer that the Via Latina reached Cales (which is only eleven miles N. N. W. of Capua on a level road) at least as early as 334 B.C., *i.e.* twenty-two years before the Via Appia was constructed.

The Via Latina, too, follows a line which is far more natural than that of the Via Appia. Bunbury remarks, with perfect truth, that the Via Latina 'was one of the principal of the numerous highroads that issued from the gates of Rome, and probably one of the most ancient of them. Hence we have no account of the time of its construction, and it was probably in use as a means of communication long before it was paved and converted into a regular highroad.

'Some road or other must always have existed between Rome and Tusculum, while again beyond the Alban hills the Valley of the *Sacco* (Trerus) is one of the natural lines of communication that must have been in use from the earliest times. But it is not probable that the line of the Via Latina was completed as a regular road till after the complete reduction of both the Latins and the Volscians under the Roman authority. It is true that Livy (ii. 39)[1] speaks of the Via Latina as if it already existed in the time of Coriolanus, but he in fact uses the name only as a geographical description, both in this passage and again in the history of B.C. 296, when he speaks of Interamna as a colony "quae Via Latina est"

[1] The passage runs thus :—

(Coriolanus) 'inde [from Cercei] in *Latinam viam* transversis tramitibus transgressurus Satricum Longulam Poluscam Coriolos Mugillam, haec Romanis oppida ademit. Inde Lavinium recepit, tum deinceps Corbionem Vitelliam Trebium Labicos Pedum cepit. postremum ad urbem a Pedo ducit, et ad fossas Cluilias V. ab urbe m. p. castris positis populatur inde agrum Romanorum.'

The topographical description is not accurately given: for Satricum, Longula, Polusca, Corioli and Mugilla are all to be sought on the W. and S.W. side of the Alban Hills—Satricum indeed has been fixed at the modern Conca 13 miles S. of Velletri by the discovery near it of the temple of Mater Matuta, mentioned by Livy (vii. 27; xxviii. 11)—see *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1896, 23, 69, 99, 167, 190; 1898, 166. Lavinium (Pratica) lay close to the sea coast, and the correction Lanuvium (modern Civita Lavinia) is almost necessary: but even that lies S.W. of the Via Appia: and we do not reach the neighbourhood of the Via Latina until the next group of towns mentioned, Corbio, Vitellia, Trebium, etc. (I should add that this footnote is my own.)

(x. 36). Neither passage affords any proof that the *road* was already in existence [as to the latter I am not altogether prepared to agree with him]: though there is no doubt that there was already a way or line of communication. The course of the Via Latina is, indeed, more natural for such a line of way than that of the more celebrated Via Appia, and must have offered less difficulties before the construction of an artificial road. Nor did it present any such formidable passes from a military point of view as that of Lautulae on the Appian way, for which reason it was the route chosen both by Pyrrhus when he advanced on Rome in B.C. 280, and by Hannibal in B.C. 211. On the latter occasion the Carthaginian general seems certainly to have followed the true Via Latina across Mount Algidus and by Tusculum (Liv. *l. c.*); Pyrrhus, on the contrary, turned aside from it as he approached Praeneste, which was the farthest point that he reached in his advance towards Rome.' (Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, s. v. *Via Latina* (London, 1856), ii. 1301.) And again (the Via Appia) 'was the earliest of all the Roman highways, of the construction of which we have any definite account, and very probably the first of all that was regularly made as a great public work; the Via Salaria, Tiburtina, etc. having doubtless long been in use as mere natural roads, long before they were converted into solidly constructed Viae. There must in like manner have always been some kind of road communicating from Rome with Alba and Aricia; but it is evident, from the perfectly straight line followed by the Via Appia from a point very little without the gates of Rome to Aricia, that this must have been a new work, laid out and executed at once.' (*Ibid.* s. v. *Via Appia*, ii. 1289.)

Whether the first road to Tusculum was the Via Latina or the Via Labicana is uncertain (*Papers*, i. 132): I am inclined to believe, however, that had it been the former, it would have run more chance of retaining its original name (which on that supposition would have been Via Tusculana); and, further, the direction of the latter points (*ib.* 241) to its having originally led to Tusculum, which it need not have done had the Via Latina been habitually used as a means of communication. The distance by both roads is about the same (14½ m. from their respective gates in the Servian wall). I therefore prefer to consider the Via Latina as a road of mainly military importance, leading as it did to the important pass of Algidus, which so often appears in the military history of Rome, between 465 and 389 B.C., when it was still an advanced post of the

Aequi against Rome. During this period (415 B.C.) the inhabitants of Bola, though a place of Latin origin (it appears among the colonies of Alba), are spoken of as *suae gentis populus* (Liv. iv. 49), and the Aequi sent a colony there. Two years before Labici had been colonized by the Romans (*ibid.* 47).[1]

The Aequi were decisively defeated by Camillus in 389 B.C., and we hear no more of Algidus as a military position from that time forward. Indeed, when the Aequi were attacked in 304 B.C. for their treacherous conduct and defeated again (Liv. ix. 45) the Romans were able to advance as far as Alba Fucens, so that Algidus had long ceased to be important from this point of view.

We hear of it again for the last time as an important position in 211 B.C. when Hannibal on his march on Rome passed successively through the territory of Frusino, Ferentinum, and Anagnia to that of Labici: thence marched on Tusculum by way of Algidus, and, being refused entrance, descended to the right to Gabii (xxvi. 9). This account is copied by Silius Italicus, who only omits the mention of Ferentinum (xii. 350).

The relative importance of the Via Latina and Via Labicana for through traffic has been discussed in *Papers*, *cit.* i. 215 *seq.* Strabo states expressly that the Via Labicana τελευτᾷ πρὸς τὰς Πικτὰς καὶ τὴν Λατίνην (v. 3, 9, p. 237), and that the Viae Appia, Latina and Valeria were γνωριμώταται τῶν ὁδῶν. The evidence of the inscriptions of the *curatores* is not decisive on the point. The earliest of all, that of Q. Decius Saturninus, the only *curator* of equestrian rank whom the two roads had (before 29 A.D.), states that he was *curator Viarum Labicanae et Latinae* (*C.I.L.* x. 5393), and that of L. Annius Italicus Honoratus (reign of Caracalla) that he was *curator Viae Lavicanae et Latinae veteris*,[2] the Via

[1] The inference drawn by Hülsen from this passage (Pauly-Wissowa s.v. *Aequi* i. 597), that Labici was also in their possession, seems to be without foundation. Indeed, a little before Livy (*ib.* 45) carefully distinguishes the people of Labici from the Aequi—*novos hostes Labicanos consilia cum veteribus iungere haud incertis auctoribus Romam est allatum.*

[2] An inscription (*C.I.L.* x. 5398) of one C. Octavius Appius Suetrius Sabinus (about 205 A.D.) speaks of him as *curator viae Latinae novae.* It is quite unknown what was this *Via Latina nova*, which makes its appearance at the beginning of the 3rd cent. A.D. Jordan, *Topographie*, i. 1. 365, n. 37, suggests, hesitatingly, that it may be the road that issued from the Porta Metroni. Tomassetti on the other hand (p. 3, n. 3) considers that the original Via Latina came over the Caelian hill and through the Porta Querquetulana? (*infra*, 40). The decision is, however, a difficult one.

An equally difficult problem is presented by a bas relief of a very late period, consisting of a

Labicana being mentioned first, as also in the fragmentary inscription *Eph. Epigr.* iv. p. 223 (a Greek inscription from Hierocaesarea of the end of the third century A.D.). On the other hand, where one road only is mentioned (not counting the mention of Vitorius Marcellus in Stat. *Silv.* iv. 4. 60) the Via Latina is given in eleven cases, and the Via Labicana in two only. It seems unlikely that the *cura* of the one road did not include, in any of these cases, that of the other, inasmuch as they were so closely connected.

Mommsen (*C.I.L.* x. p. 696) considers the first point decisive: 'Labicanam curatores hi non adscripsissent, multo minus priore loco collocavissent, vel adeo solam nominavissent, nisi prior pars viae primariae sibi commissae proprie Labicana fuisset. Accedit quod secundum itineraria Latina intrat in Labicanam, non Labicana in Latinam: contrarium quod apud Strabonem (l.c.) legitur, scilicet Labicanam intrare in Latinam, ex nomine excusationem habet.' He may have been to some extent misled by the belief that the Labicana was five miles shorter than the Latina, and that the milestones beyond their junction followed the numeration of the former, and not of the latter: whereas there is less than a mile of difference between them at Ad Bivium.

The fact that the Antonine Itinerary states that the Via Latina 'intrat in Lavicanam' (at Compitum Anagninum) must be discounted, if we are to accept Kubitschek's very plausible theory that this is merely an unskilful excerpt from an actually existing map (*Jahreshefte des Oesterr. Arch. Instituts*, v. (1902) 33). He points out that it makes the Via Praenestina the chief road, the stations from Rome to Beneventum being attributed to it, the Labicana a branch of it, and the Latina a branch of the Labicana[1]: whereas the relations between the three were, he maintains, entirely different, the Via Latina being the principal road, while the Via Praenestina was

personification of the road, a recumbent female figure holding a wheel (now built into the entrance of the Columbarium of Pomponius Hylas: Matz Duhn, 4101), above which is the inscription *Viae Latinae Gr.* The meaning of the last two letters is obscure: Tomassetti, who (p. 5) gives an illustration of the relief, would make it depend on the rest of the inscription, the first line being, according to him, lost (there is no doubt that there was nothing more at the end of the inscription), but Hülsen (*C.I.L.* vi. 29811) follows Von Duhn, who maintains that the inscription is complete.

[1] His contention that the junction between the two roads is wrongly given as being at *Compitum Anagninum* instead of *ad Pictas* is not necessarily correct for the time at which the Itinerary was compiled. As a fact the two roads are connected both at *ad Pictas* and *ad Bivium*: but it is only at *Compitum Anagninum* that they cease to have a separate existence. At *ad Bivium* indeed it seems clear that it is a branch from the Via Latina that falls into the Via Labicana, and not *vice versa*. (*Papers*, i. 218.)

certainly a road of no importance for through traffic. The date of this map, which he supposes to have represented the whole Roman world, would not be later than the reign of Caracalla.

It seems, on the other hand, as I said, quite natural to suppose that the Via Labicana eventually superseded the Via Latina as a route for through traffic, 'as, while the distance is the same (between Rome and any of these junctions), the latter at the pass of Algidus attains an elevation 650 feet higher than the "summit level" of the Via Labicana'; though we cannot attain absolute certainty on the point; and in any case it seems possible that the road after the last junction at Compitum Anagninum bore the name Via Latina rather than Via Labicana.

Similarly, we cannot tell whether the route by either of these roads to their junction, and thence to Casilinum, was more frequented than the Via Appia. Along the older line of the Via Latina the distance was only six miles longer, and the troublesome journey by boat through the Pomptine Marshes was avoided: while if, instead of going round by Ad Flexum and Venafrum, the traveller took the short cut by Rufrae (S. Felice a Ruvo) to Teanum,[1] which we must believe to have been done in later times at any rate, it was actually three miles shorter.

The course of the Via Latina is for the first thirty miles, at least, quite easy to follow. For the first ten miles it runs 35° S. of E. in an almost absolutely straight line, two slight turns coming a little way outside the Porta Latina: at first it runs over undulating country, without any

[1] The antiquity of this road is denied by Mommsen (*C.I.L.* x. p. 699), but on insufficient grounds. In the map annexed to the volume the road itself is shown, with a milestone upon it (XCIII) not given in the *Corpus*. This is probably a mistake of Kiepert's (at least such is Prof. Hülsen's opinion). But there is evidence for its antiquity. Hoare (*Classical Tour*, 195), whom Mommsen does not quote, saw 'only a few stones of the way between S. Felice and Mignano,' while Chaupy, *Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, iii. 479, speaks of it as almost unrecognizable between Cassino and Teano: a phrase which Mommsen (in my opinion wrongly) uses as an argument against its antiquity. I have not yet explored it myself: but I have seen, on the right of it, between the stations of Mignano and Tora Presenzano, and not far to the N.W. of the latter, what I took from the train to be without doubt the square concrete core of a tomb. The position of Rufrae upon it is another argument for its antiquity. On the older road by Ad Flexum three milestones (without numbers) have been seen at various times (*C.I.L. cit.* nos. 6902–6904): another of 127 B.C. (probably the 113th) has been copied between Venafrum and Teanum, three miles from the former, though not *in situ*, inasmuch as Venafrum was 104 miles from Rome; and also a much later one of the emperor Claudius Julianus (*ibid.* nos. 6905, 6906) six miles from Venafrum at the modern village of Sesto (the name is significant, alluding to the distance from Venafrum and probably preserving the old name). Other milestones, continuing the numeration from Rome by way of Venafrum (the 106th and 110th, another without a number, and perhaps the 119th) have been found on the road from Venafrum to Aesernia and Beneventum (*C.I.L.* ix. 5976–5979).

particular difficulties to overcome, rising gradually. From the 9th to the 10th mile the ascent is somewhat steeper (118 to 173 mètres) and from the 10th to the 13th it becomes still more considerable (173 to 408 m., or 257 English ft. in a mile). In all this distance, however, the country is comparatively easy, as it slopes up gradually towards the hills. About the 11th mile the road turns more and more to the E., until, by the time the 13th mile is reached, it is running practically due E. At this point, where the post-station of Roboraria should be sought, it enters the depression between the rim of the great outer crater of the Alban volcano and the smaller and higher crater which was afterwards raised within it. See Geikie, *Landscape in History and other Essays*, 335 *seq.* 'The Alban Hills . . . consist essentially of one great volcanic cone of the type of Vesuvius, with a base about 12 miles in diameter. This cone has been so greatly truncated that its summit, from one side of the rim to the other, measures about six miles. The highest point of the rim is 3071 feet above sea-level.[1] Inside lies the huge cauldron-like depression that formed the original crater of the volcano, encircled with steep slopes and rocky walls save on the north-west side towards Rome, where the continuity of the crater-ring has been destroyed.

'. . . . The explosion that eviscerated the Alban volcano . . . . was not improbably followed by a long period of repose. But the subterranean energy was not exhausted, though it never again showed itself on so vigorous a scale. We can trace, indeed, the signs of its gradual enfeeblement. When it recommenced its activity the vent, which served as the channel by which its eruptions took place, still retained its central position. Round this vent a newer but much smaller cone, bearing witness to less vigour of eruption, was built up in the middle of the crater. This younger mass rises in Monte Cavo to a height of 3150 feet, the highest elevation on the whole mountain.[2] It encloses a well-marked crater with the flat plain of the Campo di Annibale at its bottom. Eventually the central orifice came to be choked up by the lava that had risen and solidified with it, and as the volcanic forces still sought an outlet to the surface, they were compelled to find egress at other and weaker points of the volcano.

[1] Monte Peschio, N. of Velletri (939 mètres—really 3081 feet).

[2] The Italian staff map (1 : 25,000) as revised in 1894, gives the height of Monte Cavo as 949 m. (3113·57 feet) and that of the Maschio delle Faete E.S.E. of it as 956 m. (3136·54 feet). [The same is the case on the 1 : 100,000 map.]

'At least two explosions took place on the old crater rim and produced the deep-sunk and singularly impressive lakes of Albano and Nemi. Others broke out on the flanks of the great cone. Of these, the largest is marked by the crater at the Valle Ariccia, but at least two dozen of smaller size have been discriminated by the geologists of the Government Survey round the outer slopes of the volcano. These lateral vents probably mark the sites of the last eruptions.'

The first summit of the outer rim was occupied by the ancient city of Tusculum, the highest point of which is 670 m. (2198 ft.) above sea-level. This rises abruptly about half a mile to the N. of the road, while the lower part of the city was approached by an easy slope from the neighbourhood of the 13th mile. On the south too the hills begin to close in: at the narrowest point, near the 15th mile, is the mediaeval Castel di Molare.

The road has meanwhile been rising, and continues to do so until the 16th mile is reached, at the point (566 m., 1857 ft.) where the modern road turns off to Rocca Priora (probably the site of the ancient Corbio). Here begins a comparatively open expanse, about two miles long, through which the road runs E.S.E., ascending first slightly to its summit level (582 m., 1909½ ft.) and then falling slightly. The hills come somewhat closer at the 18th mile, and the road descends through a cutting, immediately to the S. of an isolated hill called Monte Fiore. After the descent the plain of the Doganella opens out (528 m., 1732 ft.), and on the other side of it is a final ascent to the point (560 m., 1837 ft.) where, at the 20th mile, the road passes through the rim of the outer crater at the Pass of Algidus, traversing a narrow gap, its passage through which has been assisted by a cutting in the road. Immediately after its exit from this the road forks, the main Via Latina going on E.S.E., while a branch diverges E.N.E. to join the Via Labicana at the 23rd mile of the latter road (*Papers, cit.* 274).

A fairly rapid descent in an E. and E.S.E. direction, though again over quite easy country, down the outer slopes of the rim of the outer crater, now begins; and at the Fontanile delle Macere, the probable site of Ad Pictas, the road has reached 305 m. (1000 ft.). It then reascends very slightly, crosses, almost on the level, the space between the E. extremity of the Alban Hills and the W. spurs of the Volscian Mountains, and, at the 26th mile, comes beneath the latter, which rise to the S. of it. It now takes an easterly course, falling slightly, and at the 27th mile passes under

the modern Artena. Between the 28th and 29th miles at 245 m. (804 ft.) above sea-level it sends off a branch which traverses the floor of a valley much exposed to floods, and just after the 30th mile reaches the Via Labicana at Ad Bivium, at about halfway between the 29th and 30th miles of the latter road, which soon afterwards crosses the Trerus (Sacco) and follows the N.N.E. side of its valley as far as Fregellae (Ceprano.) The main Via Latina, however, goes on in the same general direction over undulating country, rising and falling slightly. In places it pursues a curiously tortuous course, making no effort to overcome the natural difficulties which it has to meet, and so arrives at the railway station of Anagni, where it crosses the Naples line and reaches the Labicana at the Osteria della Fontana, 222 mètres (728 ft.), which represents the ancient Compitum Anagninum (*Papers*, *cit.* 281).

At this last junction, as at Ad Bivium, it certainly looks as though the line of the Labicana were the more important, and as if the Latina came up to join it. These facts are not altogether easy to explain—unless one assumes that the original Via Latina purposely avoided crossing the Sacco in the neighbourhood of the later station of Ad Bivium, and found it easier to do so near the railway station of Anagni. At the former place the valley of the Sacco is very low and much exposed to floods, and the flat floor of the branch valley which the Via Labicana traverses between the 29th and 31st miles is equally liable to be affected by them: whereas the crossing of the Sacco at right angles at Anagni station presents no such objections. With this point, however, I shall have occasion to deal later.

The section of the description of the Via Latina now published goes only a little beyond the 10th mile: the large amount of material to be dealt with in the neighbourhood of Frascati and Tusculum rendered it impossible to complete the whole work on the present occasion, and the rest of it will appear in the next volume of the *Papers*.

In preparing the present section, I have thought it well to index volumes vi. and xv. of the *Corpus* as far as possible: I am indebted to Prof. Hülsen for permission to use the MS. sheets of the index for the former volume as far as they are now ready. I cannot claim that my work was absolutely complete, but I hope that the omissions will be found to be comparatively few. It was necessary, I thought, to do this work for my own use, and, as it is done, the results of it may be useful to

students provisionally, until the complete indices to these volumes are published.[1]

I should add that I have not attempted to index amphorae, Aretine vases, lamps, or glass vessels (*C.I.L.* xv. 2558–7064). I have also indexed *I.G.* xiv., which was most unfortunately published by Kaibel without a provenance index, so that the majority of the inscriptions may be said to be almost buried in it. I have also indexed for my own use the catalogues of most, if not all, of the more important museums of sculpture (see *Papers*, iii. 4). As a result of all this work I have been able, I hope, to give a fairly complete account of the recorded discoveries along the course of the first part of the road.

The maps have been, like those in vol. iii., executed by the Istituto Geografico Militare of Florence: I have to express to the Chief of the Italian General Staff and to the Director of the Istituto my acknowledgments for permission to make use of portions of the map on the scale of 1:25,000 in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, and to H.E. Sir Edwin Egerton, H.B.M.'s Ambassador, and Col. Delmé-Radcliffe, Military Attaché, for their good offices in obtaining this permission for me. For the first portion of my description, however, reference must be made to Map I in *Papers*, vol. i. The key map shows the relation between the maps in those sections of my description of the Campagna which are so far published. Mr. F. G. Newton, student of the British School at Rome, has drawn the plans on Plates VI–IX, XI, XII, XV under my direction, and I am glad to have had the advantage of his assistance. The other illustrations are from my own photographs. My obligations are once more due to many friends, and more especially to Professor Lanciani, with whom and with my dear father I have explored the whole district which I am now proceeding to describe. In the latter I have lost (to speak of him only in relation to my work) the best of companions, a keen and enthusiastic investigator, a willing helper, a kindly and acute critic. To his memory, since he loved the Campagna and taught me to love it also, I dedicate this and succeeding portions of the work which I hope in course of time to complete.

[1] This will especially be the case in dealing with vol. xv. (brickstamps) where the previous readings are often corrupt or made only from fragments, so that to 'run down' a given stamp may be no light matter, if the author who has first published it has given it incorrectly.

I.—THE VIA LATINA UP TO THE INTERSECTION WITH THE VIA APPIA NUOVA (BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD MILE).

The Via Latina diverged from the Via Appia 830 mètres outside the Porta Capena (from which the mileage along it was measured), and after 500 mètres more passed through the Porta Latina of the Aurelian Wall, a well preserved gate (closed for the last time in 1827, Tomassetti, 23) reconstructed by Honorius; the arch of travertine voussoirs was built by Belisarius or Narses, and the Christian monogram, between A and Ω, carved on the keystone. For the mediaeval notices of the gate, cf. Tomassetti, 20 *seq.* The northernmost of the two round towers rests upon a foundation of *opus quadratum*, belonging no doubt to a tomb. Pl. I, Fig. 1 gives a view of it from the outside.

I shall not here attempt to deal with the discoveries which have been made along the course of the road before it reaches the Porta Latina. A general reference may be made to Tomassetti, 19 n.; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 329 *seq.*, *Forma Urbis*, 46; Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie*, i. 3. 212.

Pier Leoni Ghezzi describes (*Cod. Ottob. Vat.* 3108, 183, 184 = Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1882, 222, LX = Schreiber, *Fundberichte des P.L. Ghezzi* (in *Sächische Berichte*, 1892), p. 112, no. 4) an excavation made in the 'vigna del Sig. Tursi fuori di Porta Latina cioè di fianco nel giorno 8 8^{bre} 1726,' which was, he adds, close to the road, not far from the Porta S. Sebastiano. The site is, however, fixed as inside the gate ('cioè di fianco' being a correction of 'fuori' according to Schreiber) by Ghezzi in his notes in the Biblioteca Angelica (KK 15, 14), in which he gives the inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 5813–5817 as having been found 'nella cava che faceva fare Monsieur Wencler (di Lipsia) prima di uscire la porta Latina andando a mano dritta il primo portone che è la vignia del sr. Tuoti (Tuossi p. 36) [sic] Cavalliggieri.' And this is probably the more accurate indication, and is accepted by Lanciani (*Forma Urbis*, 46). It was made at the expense of Monsieur Vencler (*i.e.* Winckler, of Leipzig). The plan which Ghezzi gives shows a staircase descending into the natural tufa, at the bottom of which a corridor turns at right angles: this leads to a chamber, in which was a shaft, and in it were found some vases of terra cotta full of ashes of the dead, with many silver and bronze coins. Leading off from it were two niches for bodies; one still contained the corpse, and with it were

found four fine black glazed vases; the other had a sarcophagus cut in the rock, but had been despoiled of its contents. Two sections and detailed drawings of the pottery are also given.

Just outside the Porta Latina on the N.E. Lanciani (*Forma Urbis*, 46) marks the start of a road crossing the Via Latina at right angles. To the N.E. of the gate is a small water reservoir, two sides of which are alone preserved—Parker, *Historical Photographs*, 985.

Another on the S.W. (Parker, *id.* 984) is attributed by Parker (*Aqueducts*, p. 133) to the aqueduct which supplied the Thermae of Commodus, which Thermae he thought he had discovered on the N. side of the Monte d' Oro in 1869 (*Historical Photographs*, 1485, 1486; Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie*, i. 3. 217). The existence of this aqueduct, according to him a prolongation of that of the Villa of the Quintilii, is, however, very doubtful.

On the other hand, the aqueduct which supplied the Baths of Caracalla, and which bore the name of Antoniniana (*C.I.L.* vi. 1245), may be more certainly traced. It crossed the Via Appia, as is well known, by the so-called Arch of Drusus, just within the Porta S. Sebastiano (believed by Hülsen, *op. cit.* i. 3. 216 to be the arch of Trajan), and is crossed by the Aurelian wall just at the sharp turn halfway between this gate and the Porta Latina: here a fragment of one of its piers (for here it was on arches) may be seen on the E. side of the modern road which follows the exterior of the walls. (See Parker, *Historical Photographs*, 883, 884.) In the cutting of the Civitavecchia railway its *specus* was found, measuring 1 mètre high and 0·61 wide (*Bull. Inst.* 1861, 71). (See Lanciani, *Comentari di Frontino* in *Memorie dei Lincei*, Ser. iii. vol. iv. (1880) 315 *seq.*) Beyond the point where an ancient road diverges from the Via Latina to the Caffarella Valley, Nibby saw its substruction on the right of the former road (*Roma nell' Anno* 1838, Parte Antica, i. 341). It then, according to Parker, passed through a piscina (see the map at the end of his volume on the Aqueducts) and then crossed to the N.E. side of the Via Latina ('southern' in Parker's text, p. 18, should be 'northern'): cf. *infra*, 34.

It then ran towards the Porta Furba, where Parker found a piscina with two chambers just on the N.E. side (*op. cit.* Pl. VIII. D)[1] of the Via

[1] The only obstacle to this identification is that on the drawing is the note 'Porta S. Giovanni metri 2500'—the real distance would be nearly 3500. On the other hand it is certainly to this, and not to the other, that certain parts of Lanciani's description apply—the extrados of the vault

Tuscolana, after the Osteria del Pino, a little before reaching the Porta Furba, which he and Lanciani (p. 316) agree in believing to have belonged to it, and to have been its starting-point from the main aqueduct: though remains of piscinae are too abundant in the neighbourhood of the aqueducts for absolute certainty to be possible.

Another piscina with several chambers, which Parker found in 1871 in that neighbourhood, and which, from the plan, was not entirely excavated—apparently opposite the turning off of the Via delle Cave—(*op. cit.* Pl. VI) he attributed to the *Specus Octavianus* of the Anio Vetus; Lanciani does not seem to mention it. Fabretti (*De Aquis* (1788) Diss. i. tab. i. no. 25, and p. 30; Diss. iii. tab. i. no. 15) wrongly attributed to this aqueduct the remains that Parker and Lanciani, as we have seen, assign to the Aqua Antoniniana (see the latter *op. cit.* pp. 265, 316). Lanciani, however, maintains that the *Specus Octavianus* left the Anio Vetus, not at the second mile of the Via Latina, but at the second mile of the aqueduct, *i.e.* about one mile from the Porta Maggiore; and this seems to be the correct interpretation of the text of Frontinus.

Outside, as inside, the gate, the road was flanked by a large number of tombs, and though, for the first mile and a half, visible remains are comparatively few, the discoveries made have been in the past (though not latterly so numerous) very considerable in number and importance. As I pointed out in the introduction, the lack up to the present of indices to vols. vi. and xv. of the *Corpus* renders much of the available information somewhat inaccessible: and I have therefore thought it well to give a full list of what has been found in each locality for the sake of completeness. The Via Latina was indeed richer in tombs, it would seem, than any of the other roads except the Via Appia and the Via Salaria, and in the case of the latter they were confined to the more immediate vicinity of the city: and it has been my aim to convey this impression.

On the E. side of the road which runs round the Aurelian wall on the outside, and on the N.E. side of the Via Latina, is the Vigna Ruspoli, previously Vigna Mazzanti (1662), Caffarelli (1694), Curti (1734), and Marcilli (1744). In this were found several sepulchral inscriptions; *C.I.L.* vi. 9092

at the ground level, the existence of two chambers, the length, 18 mètres, and the width, 5, the construction in opus incertum. Lightholes seem to be present in the other and not in this: while in both there was intercommunication between the chambers. Cf. *Historical Photographs*, 548, 687, 688.

(in memory of *Erasinus Caesaris n(ostri) servus adiutor a vinis*) was found here in 1734 in breaking up the ground for the vineyard, and so were *ibid.* 11821, 25826.

Ibid. 12539, 25791 were seen here in 1767, and the latter again in 1884; and 26944 a, 31696, 32754, 34107 (= 17265), 34540, 34886, 35195 a, 35464, 35714 (most of them fragmentary) also in 1884; cf. Tomassetti, 25 n. 1, who adds a fragment of a Greek inscription. Lanciani (*Forma Urbis*, 46) notes other excavations in this vineyard, the results of which are not known to me: except that De Rossi copied here *C.I.L.* vi. 12054. *C.I.L.* vi. 591 (a dedication to Silvanus) was discovered in the ruins of buildings near the Via Latina destroyed in the course of the capture of Rome by the French in 1849, just outside the city, and copied by De Rossi. This probably belongs to this vineyard also, as the description corresponds to that of 12539, which De Rossi also copied here.

On the S. of the road is another Vigna Ruspoli, previously belonging (Lanciani *cit.*) to the Alexii (1550), Ottini (1600–1750), and Cremaschi (1820: 1848 is too late, cf. *infra*). *C.I.L.* vi. 9543 (the tombstone of a freedman *ad margarita, i.e.* in charge of his master's pearls), 11372, 12074, 15952, 24205 were seen here by Pighius in the latter half of the 16th cent. (9493 was seen by him in the possession of the Maffei, and was merely found 'on the right of the Via Latina'—how far out we do not know). In this vineyard the family tomb of the gens Arlena was discovered, for the first time not later than the 15th cent. when *C.I.L.* vi. 9675 was copied by Petrus Sabinus 'in domo D. Pauli Coronatis,' and by Mazochi (1521) 'in domo Pauli de Plancis regione Harenulae' (see Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi* i. 108), and again in the 17th cent., at the beginning of which we find *C.I.L.* vi. 12332–12342 sent to the Guicciardini of Florence, where they were copied by Doni in 1624: while Fabretti, in his *Inscriptiones* (1699), records the existence of *C.I.L.* vi. 9675 and 12331 in the Vigna Ottini near the Porta Latina. It is indeed curious that the former inscription should have found its way back to the place in which it was originally discovered. In the Vigna Ottini Fabretti also saw the following inscriptions, *C.I.L.* vi. 1483, 1484 (the former erected by three of his freedmen to P. Paquius Scaeva, a man of senatorial rank, who rose under Augustus to be proconsul of Cyprus, being specially sent back there again after serving as *viarum curator extra urbem Romam* to settle the affairs of the province—see *Prosopographia*, iii. 12: the latter determining the boundaries

of the area reserved for the burial of his freedmen), 8880, 14612, 16767, 18309, 22982, 28669, 28848.

Excavations were made in this vineyard on Dec. 21st, 1801 (Lanciani, *Forma Urbis cit.*), but with what results I do not know. A little before 1822 the tombstone of a pet dog was found in this vineyard. The inscription runs as follows:

χρῆμα τὸ πᾶν Θείας, βαιᾶς κυνός, ἠρία κεύθει,
εὐνοίας, στοργῆς, (ε)ἴδεος ἀγλαΐαν·
κούρη δ' ἁβρὸν ἄθυρμα ποθοῦσα ἐλεεινὰ δακρύει
τὴν τροφίμην, φιλίας μνῆστιν ἔχουσα [ἀ]τρεκῆ.

(*I.G.* xiv. 1647.) Amati, in *Giorn. Arcad.* 1822 (xv), 171, describes it as 'found not long ago in the first vineyard outside the Porta Latina, and preserved in the house of Angelo Cremaschi'—which shows that the vineyard had passed into the possession of the Cremaschi some time before 1848, the date which Lanciani gives. It is now in the Museo Chiaramonti in the Vatican (171 a).

Further excavations were carried on in 1828 in the Vigna Cremaschi, the results being recorded by Amati (*Giorn. Arcad.* 1828 (xxxix), 221 and Vatican MSS.). The more interesting of the inscriptions discovered were *C.I.L.* vi. 9413 (*T. Statili Tauri l(iberti) Antiochi fab(ri) tig(narii) in f(ronte) p(edes) xii in ag(ro) p(edes) xii*: 9414, which bears precisely the same inscription, and is preserved in the magazines of the Lateran Museum was no doubt found here also, though its provenance is not indicated) and 10557 (the tombstone of Q. Acutius Fortis, published by Nibby, *Analisi*, i. 58, who from the name Acutius wishes to derive Aguzzano, the name of a tenuta on the Via Tiburtina, to the left, cf. *Papers*, iii. 52, 100: Tomassetti, *Via Nomentana*, 38 agrees with him).[1]

In 1836 Arduini excavated a *columbarium* in this vineyard: it was square, covered with a barrel vault excavated in the tufa, and lined with *opus reticulatum*: a plinth ran all round with a cornice above and below: and at the sides were three niches. Various inscriptions were found, among them (it was said) an acrostic: there was also a well carved marble head, and other objects.

[1] *C.I.L.* vi. 10376, 10802, 12049, 12061, 12127, 12700, 13018, 14149, 15036, 15501, 16203, 16558, 17003, 20802, 20976, 21457, 21462, 21466, 21701, 21906, 23270, 23752, 25327, 25640, *I.G.* xiv. 1810 were also found here. Several of these are tablets from a *columbarium*.

But the most interesting point was that the floor, which was already about 20 palms (about 4·50 mètres) below the level of the vineyard, opened, and so gave access to a chamber below, cut in the natural tufa, without any decoration of any kind, the floor of which was almost 35 palms (about 7·80 mètres) below the level of the vineyard. In it were found several vases of black earth, decorated with graffiti of animals and ornaments in the Etruscan style, and in one of them were found remains of burnt human bones and ashes. Depoletti, who made a drawing of the two chambers, believed (and no doubt rightly) that the lower tomb was pre-Roman, and paralleled it with pottery found at Cervetri (*Bull. Inst.* 1836, 103). It is a pity that no other description exists, and that the present whereabouts of the objects found is not known.

Excavations in 1839 in an early tomb chamber produced the inscription (on a slab of travertine) *C.I.L.* vi. 25505 *Q. Ruubius C. f. Pop(ilia tribu)*. Marchi, who copied this inscription (his notes in the possession of one Gennarelli of Florence are cited in *C.I.L.*), copied also in this vineyard the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 744. 3 (of the time of Caracalla).

Arduini, in 1844 or early in 1845, again excavated a *columbarium* or *columbaria* in the Vigna Cremaschi, and found a large number of inscriptions, a list of which (including nos. 7243–7256) is given in *C.I.L.* vi. p. 3429, on the authority of a letter of Grifi written on April 6, 1845, to Viscount de Kerckhove, president of the Antwerp archaeological academy. *C.I.L.* vi. 19996 and 27509 seem to have been found in the same tomb in the 17th century.

In 1844 (not 1848, see De Rossi, *Bull. Inst.* 1880, 101) Arduini excavated another *columbarium* near the first mile of the road, *i.e.* probably in the Vigna Cremaschi (so Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, 46) (*C.I.L.* vi. 7192–7232, 33240 a–33241).

In the same year 1844 he discovered in this vineyard, but along the road outside the first *columbarium* of the two mentioned, the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 9671 (*C. Clodius C. l. Euphemus negotiator penoris et vinorum de Velabro a iiii Scaris*—as to which see Jordan, *Topographie*, i. 2. 472—the relief above the inscription, with Dionysus and his train, is described by Benndorf-Schoene, *Lateran*, 116).

The exact site of the *Monumentum Sociorum XXXVI* is not known. It was a *columbarium*, which was first excavated in 1599, as Zaratino

Castellini records in his MS. additions to Smetius (now at Verona).[1] It was reopened by Arduini, and in it were found the important inscription of Scirtus the charioteer (*C.I.L.* vi. 10051), which is especially interesting for the information it gives us as to the consular fasti for A.D. 13–25, and no. 11034. Several other inscriptions now in the Lateran, without any indication of provenance, must have come from this place also: and the total number which can be referred to it, exclusive of that of Scirtus, is 21 (*C.I.L. cit.* 11034–11054; cf. 34036 and Gatti in *Bull. Com.* 1882, 3 *seq.*). *C.I.L.* vi. 23731, also recorded by Castellini as found on the Via Latina in 1599, apparently does not belong to this tomb.

The same is the case with *ibid.* 260 (*M. Sextilius M. l. Eros genium et (h)ypaethrum stravit, furcas statuit clatros in fenestris posuit et expoleit monumentum de sua pecunia*), which is recorded to have been found within the first mile from Rome, and to have passed through Arduini to the Lateran Museum. The reference seems to be to some tomb (*monumentum*), though the meaning of the first part is not altogether clear: and the placing of bars (*clatri*) in the windows would agree with this.

There is a lack of detail about some of the discoveries of Arduini. *C.I.L.* vi. 17517, 27415, 28102 are simply recorded as having been found 'not more than a mile out,' and 9212 (the inscription of an *auri acceptor de Sacra Via*), 9434 (which mentions a *gemmarius de Sacra Via*), 14982, which were in his possession, are of uncertain provenance, though apparently found on the Via Latina.

Similarly, of *C.I.L.* vi. 12182, 12184, 12188, 12620, 14166, 21234, 21675, 23071, 23107 it is only recorded that they were found a mile from Rome (reckoning from the Aurelian wall (?)) along either the Via Latina or the Via Appia, where he also excavated.

In 1852 Arduini excavated in the Vigna Manenti on the left of the road, 500 paces from the gate (*Bull. Inst.* 1852, 20, 36). Here were found the inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 140 (a lead tablet of the Republican period devoting one Rhodine and several other persons to Dis Pater:

Quomodo mortuos, qui istic sepultus est,
nec loqui nec sermonare potest,
seic Rhodine apud M. Licinium Faustum

[1] That Doni saw some of the inscriptions in the Vigna Bosi (later Pamphili) about 1660 is no certain proof that they were actually found there: nor does Tomassetti give any evidence for placing it near the intersection of the Via Latina and Appia Nuova (p. 39 n.).

mortua sit nec loqui nec sermonare possit.
Ita uti mortuos nec ad deos
nec ad homines acceptus est, seic Rhodine
aput M. Licinium accepta sit et tantum
valeat, quantum ille mortuos, quei istic
sepultus est.
Dite Pater, Rhodine(m) tibi commendo,
uti semper odio sit M. Licinio Fausto.
Item M. Hedium Amphionem.
Item C. Popillium Apollonium.
Item Vennonia(m) Hermiona(m).
Item Sergia(m) Glycinna(m).),

2365 (a sepulchral cippus with a relief of a man with his wife and child, now in the Lateran, cf. Benndorf-Schoene, *Lateran*, no. 33), 12243, 13756 (a cippus with neat decorative sculptures, described by Benndorf-Schoene *op. cit.* no. 177 *b*), 16250, 17761, 18069 (a cippus with a relief of a charioteer), 18792, 18951, 20682, 21228, 21759, 21833, 22660, 23177, 24074, 25317, 25633, 26235, 27486, 27496, 27577, 27623, 28146. These inscriptions are now all (except 140, which is in the Museo Kircheriano) preserved in the Lateran Museum: a large proportion of them are tablets from a *columbarium* or *columbaria*.

Ficoroni records the discovery in a letter of Aug. 8, 1733, of a *columbarium* just outside the Porta Latina (he does not say on which side of the road, but it was possibly on the right, in the Vigna Crispoldi, in which in the same year were found *ibid.* 12821, 18761) in which were found the inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 13378, 26289, 28228, 28258, 28857, which he had bought on the previous evening. Other *columbarium* tablets, *C.I.L. ibid.* 2216, 19224, 19582, 19586, 23545, 23902, found not later than September 15 of the same year, were perhaps found here also, as they also passed into Ficoroni's hands: some of these, *e.g.* 23902, are reported as actually found by Ficoroni, who perhaps continued the excavation. In a letter of Oct. 1, 1735, he records the discovery of *ibid.* 3163, and on Oct. 26 that of *ibid.* 10345, both on the Via Latina; and in a letter of Sept. 12, 1739, he records *ibid.* 29609 (cf. 34191) as having been found a mile out in a *columbarium* in excavating for pozzolana. It is a curious little epigram: '*Invida sors ſ ıti rapuisti Utilem* | *sanctam puellam bis quinos annos* | *nec*

patris ac matris es miserata preces|. Accepta et cara sueis mortua hic sita sum ; | cinis sum ; cinis terra est, terra dea est ; | ergo ego mortua non sum.' An elegiac couplet has been transformed into three lines, and the metre ruined, by the insertion of the girl's name, Utilis, and her age. The sentiment of the last three lines (as in the case of *ibid.* 35887) is borrowed from an epigram of Epicharmus (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* ii. 239),

εἰμὶ νεκρός, νεκρὸς δὲ κόπρος, γῆ δ' ἡ κόπρος ἐστίν·
εἰ δέ τε γῆ θεός ἐστ', οὐ νεκρός, ἀλλὰ θεός,

but here too the insertion of *accepta et cara sueis* has played havoc with the metre of the translation, which, Hülsen conjectures (*C.I.L. in loc.*), may have run

heic ego mortua sum ; cinis sum ; terra est cinis ; at si
terra dea est, ego non mortua sum, dea sum.

9409 (*M. Allius Apollonius, faber tignarius mag(ister) in fam(ilia) praef(ectus) dec(uriae) vix(it) an(nis) lx*) was found in the same place.

9043 is mentioned by Ficoroni in a letter to Muratori of May 6, 1741, 'Ho detto a un mio cercatore che la vadi a comprare, non so a qual distanza della via Latina.' It runs *Salvius Antoniae Drus(i) spatarius.* The Antonia referred to is the younger daughter of Mark Antony, the mother of Germanicus and Claudius (*Prosopographia*, i. p. 106, no. 707). Spatarius must be a maker of swords (Italian 'spada').

On the other hand it should be noted that, after all, there is no evidence that the inscriptions 7233–7242 (grouped together in *C.I.L.* vi. part ii) really belonged to the same *columbarium*: indeed the only one of which it can be safely said that it was found on the Via Latina at all is 7241 = 11301/2 ('extra portam Latinam reperta anno 1733'). See *C.I.L.* vi. p. 3429.

Just beyond is the site of the first milestone. 'Near the first mile' was found the male bust, no. 123, of the Museo Torlonia, according to the catalogue (but cf. *infra*, 30). Here the Via Latina is joined by the Vicolo delle Tre Madonne, which comes due S. from the Porta S. Giovanni, and probably follows the line of an ancient road (Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, 37), though it now has no traces of antiquity. In the Vigna delle Tre Madonne, belonging to one Frediani, formerly Vigna Pieri, in 1826 a fragment of a large sarcophagus was found, with reliefs representing two

mills turned by horses (Museo Chiaramonti, no. 497: cf. Amelung, *Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, i. p. 637). Many sepulchral inscriptions have been found here, a list of which is given in the note.[1] Most of them are noted as having been copied at the Tre Madonne and some of them as having been found in 1826. Those of which it is simply stated that they were in Frediani's possession (*C.I.L.* 25670, 29590, *I.G.* 2027) may have been found elsewhere and this is also the case with *I.G.* 1048, a much broken lead tablet with imprecations upon it: though other provenances for such objects do not occur.

At the Tre Madonne in 1826 was also found the bust attributed to Terence now in the Capitoline Museum (*Sala dei Filosofi*, 76). One ground for the identification adduced by Bernouilli (*Röm. Ikon.* i. 67) must, however, be rejected as erroneous, that is, the collocation near the Tre Madonne of the small estate mentioned by Suetonius (ed. Roth, p. 294) as left by him—*reliquit filiam, quae post equiti Romano nupsit, item hortulos xx jugerum Via Appia ad Martis villam*,[2] which must have been on the other side of the Via Latina, and still nearer to the Via Appia.

The statue of a girl in black and white marble, acquired from Frediani in 1823 for the Glyptothek at Munich (Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, 449) may possibly have been found in this vineyard.

On the W. side of the Via delle Tre Madonne, in the Vigna Cartoni, are traces of buildings in brickwork. Four unimportant sepulchral inscriptions, three of them from *columbaria*, were found along its course in 1905 (*Bull. Com.* 1905, 267).

[1] *C.I.L.* vi. 1631 (probably), 1907, 8445 (in memory of a *praepositus tabellariorum stationis vigesimae hereditatium*), 11210, 13091 (on the cover of a sarcophagus which is now in the Villa Frattini near Palestrina: a fact which may throw some light on the provenance of some of the inscriptions preserved there which are given in *C.I.L.* xiv.: see *Papers*, i. 213), 13134, 13165, 13180, 13235 (a small sarcophagus), 13340, 14033, 14164, 14449, 15368 (Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti 542 Ba), 15492, 16208, 16598, 16601, 16602, 16607 (these last four seem to belong to a tomb of the *gens Critonia*), 16666, 16720, 16780, 16843 (with a Greek epigram = *I.G.* xiv. 1537: cf. *Bull. Inst.* 1831, 74), 16846, 16982, 17618, 17724, 17922, 18049, 18272, 18778, 18957, 20414, 20456, 21047, 21350, 21793, 22479, 22750, 22752, 22963, 23250, 24595, 24717, 25323, 25487, 25670 (?), 26935, 27513, 27615, 28344, 28345, 28573, 28884, 28898, 29152 (in memory of M. Ulpius Aug. lib. Charito: with it was found a Greek inscription recording that he was born at Sardis, and was a banker at Tarsus, *I.G.* xiv. 1915), 29447, 29590 (?); *I.G.* xiv. 1658, 1707, 1924, 2019, 2027 (?), 2037, 2106.

[2] Villam seems to be present in the MSS. but is omitted by Reifferscheid and other editors. Ad Martis as a name for the district between the Temple of Mars (just outside the Porta S. Sebastiano) and the Almo occurs several times in classical authors (Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie* i. 3. 214).

Tomassetti (*op. cit.* 26) puts the first Vigna Santambrogio at the junction of the Via Latina and the Via delle Tre Madonne, rightly stating, however, that the antiquities preserved there (*C.I.L.* vi. 24592, and part of the cippus which bore the funeral inscription of C. Valerius Asmenus, which is not to be found in the *Corpus*) come from the third Vigna Santambrogio. On the other hand, *C.I.L.* vi. 10128, was found here, in the first vineyard near the first mile, and not, as Tomassetti says (p. 32), in the third. It is a small bone tessera of an *impresaria* (*arbitrix*) of pantomimic actors: cf. De Rossi in *Bull. Inst.* 1873, 67, 152.

On the left of the Via Latina, just before the Civitavecchia railway is reached, there is a fine brick tomb, with two columns with Doric capitals on the front, in neatly cut brick, supporting a tympanum, below which is an arch. The foundations of concrete have been laid bare inside, and a gallery of a catacomb—probably that of Gordianus (*infra*, 27) is accessible from them: in this space I found, lying loose, the brick stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 79 (123 A.D.). The lower chamber is a barrel-vaulted *columbarium*, 3·39 by 3·55 mètres, in brickwork, with small niches, the whole being originally coated with painted stucco. Built into the wall, probably in connexion with a later use to which the tomb was put, is a travertine cippus with the following inscription (as far as I could read it):

III
G
NTPED
XXLVN
PEDXX

The last line but one, where one would expect *in ag(ro)* is not altogether clear. The upper chamber, reached by a staircase on the N.W. (of inferior brickwork and perhaps added later), contains nothing of interest. Outside the tomb I found a tiny fragment of an inscription and the brick-stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 596 d (middle of the 2nd century A.D.).

The exterior of the tomb is shown by Sir R. Colt Hoare in the somewhat fanciful frontispiece to his collection of views of the Via Latina in my possession (Pl. I, Fig. 2). They consist of 47 drawings, measuring 57 by 39 cm., executed by him on his return to Rome from Capua in the autumn of 1790, though they are arranged in the reverse direction. The style is obviously modelled on that of Labruzzi, and they are of unequal

merit. They formed a volume bound by C. Smith, with the Hoare arms (no. 1122 in the catalogue of the Stourhead Library in 1883; they reappeared in a sale in 1901, at which we acquired them).

The Via Latina itself ran on an embankment supported by walling of *opus quadratum* of peperino at this point. On the right in the railway cutting are the remains of buildings of uncertain nature. The cutting was made in 1860, and the results of the excavations are described in *Bull. Inst.* 1861, 71 (cf. 14 *supra*). An ancient road leading S.E. was found —no doubt the first portion of one leading to the Caffarella valley, which is still represented by a modern lane. See Nibby, *Roma nell' anno* 1838, Parte Antica, i. 341.

On this lane were probably found the sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 13174, 14956, which Amati saw on the right of the Via Latina on the way to the Caffarella, unless it was at the crossing of the Via Asinaria (*infra*, 28). To the S.W. of this lane, to the E. of the railway, is a hill projecting above the valley, on the S. slope of which, above the Casale Cartone, is a large water reservoir.

It has ten external buttresses on the W. side, each 1·55 mètre deep by 0·90 thick, and 3 mètres apart. This gives the front a total length of 36 mètres. The internal chambers are not all accessible, and were probably 8 in number: one which I measured was 9·64 mètres in length, and 4·12 in width: it communicated with the adjacent chambers on each side by two low arched openings, each 1·28 in width and 1·70 from the end of the chamber.

Whether it was in this vineyard, or in the other which bears the name on the Staff Map (on the left of the Via Latina, W. of the railway), that *C.I.L.* vi. 9903 was found, is uncertain: the *columbarium* tablets 29610–2, however, were certainly found here (on the left of the Via Appia, in the vineyard formerly belonging to the Marini family, *Bull. Inst.* 1872, 74).

Close to the ancient deverticulum to the Almo Valley was found the cippus *C.I.L.* vi. 13627 (Bostare Sillinis f(ilius) Sulguium Caralita in fronte latu p. xv in agrum longum ped. xiix).

The inscription belongs to the end of the Republic: the somewhat barbarous names are Punic, as is natural in a native of Carales (Cagliari). The meaning of Sulguium is uncertain.

C.I.L. vi. 6907, a travertine tablet (not a cippus as is stated in *Bull. Inst.* 1861, 81) with the inscription *M. Pinari P. l. Marpor*, was

found here according to *Bull. Inst.* 1861, 250, and not actually within the Vigna Aquari.

The Vigna Aquari, which extends from the railway to the S.E., on the S.W. side of the road, has been the scene of important discoveries. A large number of tombs, mostly *columbaria*, have been found in it in various years from 1839 onwards. The inscriptions are given in *C.I.L.* vi. 6815–7191. They may be divided into the following groups.

(1) 6815–6820, a group of marble tablets found in 1839 in breaking the ground for the vineyard, the *columbarium* not being properly examined.

(2) 6821–6831,[1] a group of inscriptions from a *columbarium* belonging to the freedmen of the *gens Allidia* found in 1843: in it were also found *ibid.* 2695, 3339, 3342 (all inscriptions of soldiers) and some fragments of Greek and Christian inscriptions, the latter from the catacombs below.

6831 is a marble slab with the alphabet repeated four times on each side of it, and is merely an odd fragment of marble used by a stonecutter for practice.

(3) 6832–6850, from a *columbarium* of the family and freedmen of L. Sempronius Atratinus and Sempronia Atratina found in 1847: most of them are written with blacklead or painted upon tablets of pieces of red tile.

(4) 6851–6868, from another *columbarium* found in 1847 near the well of the vineyard.

(5) 6869–6887, from another *columbarium* found in 1848.

(6) 6888–6902, from another found in 1849. In this year was also found a lead tablet, originally rolled up and tied with iron wire, bearing the following imprecatory inscription:

Danae ancilla no(v)icia Capitonis—hanc ostiam acceptam habeas et consumes Danaene—Habes Eutychiam Soterichi uxorem.

Mommsen explains it to mean that the woman who made this vow prays Dis Pater (cf. 19 *supra*) that he will accept Danae, the newly bought slave of Capito, as a victim and destroy her, as he has fulfilled his suppliant's prayers with regard to Eutychia (*Bull. Inst.* 1849, 77; *C.I.L.* vi. 141).

(7) 6903–6938, from various tombs found in 1860, when the railway to Civitavecchia was cut through it—also 29432 (?).

In 1861 other inscriptions were found close to the Vigna Aquari in

[1] 6826, 6829 = Matz-Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rome*, 3899, 3905.

the railway works. Among them *C.I.L.* vi. 9783 *D(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) Iulio Iuliano viro magno philosop(h)o primo hic cum lauru(m) fer[r]et Romanis iam relevatis reclusus castris impia morte perit.* The last two lines form an elegiac couplet. The reference seems to be to a man who went out of Rome, after it had been already relieved from a siege, to fetch bays to celebrate the victory, but was caught by the enemy and killed. When the incident occurred is uncertain. Mommsen (*in loc.*) refers it to Galerius' unsuccessful attack on Rome in 307 A.D.: but Bücheler (*Anth. Lat.* 1342) refers it rather to the time of Alaric.

Ibid. 13627, 23066 were also found there at this time, and 14730, 17474 were also found along the railway on or near the Via Latina.

In 1862 *C.I.L.* vi. 14096, 28991 and *I.G.* xiv. 1898 were found; and *C.I.L.* vi. 2150 (the inscription of a *sacerdos virginum Vestalium*, also discovered in making the railway near the Via Latina in 1862) may belong to this vineyard too.

(8) 6939–6968, from a tomb found in 1876.

(9) 6970–6992, from a columbarium found in 1877, which was attributed to the Antonine period from the coins that were found (cf. *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1877, 60). Near it were poorer inhumation graves, the sides being formed of rough walling, and the covering of tiles. Among these were found the sarcophagus of F. Valerius Theopompus, 6993 = 31990 and another representing a wedding scene (29809) (*Bull. Com.* 1877, 147 *seq.* tav. xviii, xix: Matz-Duhn, *op. cit.* 2456, 3095). The former is now in the Museo delle Terme.

(10) 6994–7191, inscriptions found from 1878 onwards, the *exact* date or locality of the discovery of which is, however, not known. To these may be added 2695, 2978, 3339 (all inscriptions of soldiers), 8761 (*Ti. Claudius Eutomus Partheni Aug. liberti a quibiclo* [sic] *libertus fecit Carithe* [sic] *bene merenti suae carissimae vixit annis xviii*; the Parthenius mentioned may very well be the *cubicularius* of Domitian who assassinated him, according to Mommsen), 34521, 35315, 35318, 35540, 35831, 35953, 36412, 36462, 36569.

(11) From further excavations made in 1896, 36578, 36711, some Christian inscriptions, some lamps and sculptural fragments—all found among the ruins of much destroyed tombs (Gatti in *Not. Scav.* 1896, 162, 224).

In Matz-Duhn, *op. cit.* are described a few other fragments of sarco-

phagi and reliefs, the date of the discovery of which is uncertain—nos. 2321, 2788, 2873, 3390, 3804, 3866.[1]

On the left is the second Vigna Santambrogio, in which are two more tombs, one of concrete of chips of selce with large blocks of peperino, the other of fine brickwork (Tomassetti, 27). Here was probably found (it is described as discovered in the Vigna Santambrogio on the left at the first mile) the bone *tessera* published by De Rossi in *Bull. Inst.* 1873, 152, *Sophe Theorobathylliana arbitrix emboliarum.* Henzen, in *C.I.L.* vi. 10128, explains it thus: that Theorus and Bathyllus were both pantomimists, rivals of Pylades (Dio, liv. 17), so that supporters of the two former might be described as *Theorobathylliani*: while *emboliae* are interludes or ballets.

If this was ever the Vigna Virili, we must attribute to it the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 10265 (a *cippus* bounding a sepulchral area belonging to the Velineani—found, it is said, in the Vigna Virili at the first mile on the left [sic]) and several others.[2]

On the same side is a vineyard now belonging to the Delvecchio family, and before that successively to the Cremaschi, Manenti, Tuccimei, Domenicani, Frediani, and the Trappists (if Tomassetti, 27 *fin.* is right, which, with regard to the Cremaschi and Frediani at any rate, may be doubtful).

Here were found the inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 10109 (Tomassetti, while on p. 29, note he is correct, on p. 32, note wrongly gives the provenance as the Vigna Virili or Santambrogio, *i.e.* the third Vigna Santambrogio, which is on the *right*), *Sociarum mimarum, in fr(onte) (p)edes xv, in agr(o) p(edes) xii*—the joint tomb of a society of female pantomimists—16861, 17002 a, 23505, 26715 a.

Of the catacombs of the Via Latina very little is known: Marucchi (*Catacombe Romane*, 1903, 248 *seq.*) divides them into three groups:—

(1) The cemetery and church of S. Gordianus 'ubi ipse cum fratre Epimacho in una sepultura (iacet),' and close by it the tombs of SS.

[1] To the buildings found in this vineyard belong the following brickstamps: *C.I.L.* xv. 153, 159, 161, 163, 169, 190, 204, 386, 440, 537b, 541, 546, 564, 565l, 595b, 596c, 626, 707, 708a, 710b, 754a, 757, 795a, 816a, 824, 967, 970b, 1049, 1075a, 1138, 1201, 1261, 1322, 1325, 1327, 1350, 1528, 1569 a, 1697, 2040. Unluckily no plans or detailed records of their discovery exist, so that they are of comparatively little use to us as evidence of date. On the Via Latina a few paving-stones may be seen *in situ* at this point, portions perhaps of the piece of pavement which Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 588) notes as the only piece actually visible in his day as far as Tusculum. As we shall see later, there are other pieces open to view at present.

[2] *C.I.L.* vi. 14273, 14325, 14804, 14889, 15688, 16105, 16374, 18587, 20351, 22603, 24078, 24217, 25260, 25724, 27106, 27661, 28575.

Quartus, Quintus, Trophimus and others. Here was found the Greek sepulchral inscription *I.G.* xiv. 1467.

(2) The basilica of Tertullinus.

(3) The church of S. Eugenia, with the catacomb of Apronianus.

The first of these may be sought in the Vigna Cartoni (Marucchi, 250) on the right of the Via Latina, to the E. of the railway: some of its galleries were cut in the construction of the latter (cf. also *supra*, 23).

The third, and most important, is entered from the Vigna dei Trappisti (ant. Vigna dei PP. Domenicani oggi Delvecchio) on the left of the road, but extends also under the Vigna Aquari, on the right. Marucchi (*op. cit.* 251 *seq.*) gives particulars of it as in the Vigna Santambrogio.

Ficoroni notes the discovery, writing on 26th September, 1739, of columbaria by the road 1½ mile from the Porta Latina—'where afterwards the Christians were buried,'—in which were found *C.I.L.* vi. 10550, 10720, 13112, 13312, 17089, 17342, 19098, 23221, 23860, 27604, 27737. It is not at all improbable that the reference is to this very site.

The catacomb of Tertullinus which Boldetti says that he visited is now quite unknown. Fabretti records the discovery at the second mile in front of the entrance to it of the sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 12288, 20296, 26260, 28295, and of the brick stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1019. a. 4, while *ibid.* 1000. f. 45 was found in it.

The galleries of the catacomb penetrated beneath a pagan *columbarium* of the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. Here was a fragment of a pagan inscription. . . . *aedicia* . . . . | . . . . *ad Roma*[*m*] . . . . | . . . *versus riv*[*um*](?) . . . . (cf. *Nuovo Bull. Crist.* 1902, 125). In this catacomb was also found the Pagan inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 24416: and 'near an entrance of the catacomb of Apronianus on the right near the vineyard of the Dominicans' Stevenson saw in 1876 *C.I.L.* vi. 23614.

In the Vigna Magliochetti, on the right, are two ruins of tombs, and here was found the fragmentary inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 27380. After this there are several pavingstones of the road.

We now reach the intersection of the Vicolo della Caffarella (Via Asinaria) with the Via Latina (*infra*, 44). On the right is the third Vigna Santambrogio, formerly Virili: excavations were made there by the latter in 1853, and, subsequently, in 1875 and 1883. Various inscriptions have been found; among the more interesting are[1]:

[1] The rest do not call for especial mention: they are *C.I.L.* vi. 10265, 10857, 12283, 12901, 14253, 14273, 14325, 14804, 14889, 14989, 15688, 16105, 16374, 17038, 17793, 18587, 19760,

C.I.L. vi. 3479 (an inscription of a *veteranus Augusti*, found, it is said, at the first mile on the *left* [sic]),

9132 (a *columbarium* tablet) of M. Scribonius Syneros *super aedificia* (on the right at the 1st mile),

22306, 22307 (two inscriptions of freedmen of the *gens Mattia*),

29785 (a cippus with the words *via priv(ata)*. Also the inscription of C. Iulius Festus Gemmula (a barber) not in the *Corpus*.

Here were also (according to Tomassetti) the vineae Eustachii, the Vigna Scafetta and the Vigna Copetta, where various inscriptions recorded by Fabretti were found—in the first *C.I.L.* vi. 1874 (*'Q. Cossutius Q. l. Speratus lictor ex iii decuriis qui magistratibus apparent*), in the second *ib.* 28431, in the last *ib.* 12398, 16316 (wrong) and also the inscription of L. Flavius Euchrius (not in *C.I.L.*) found at the intersection of the 'Via Asinaria' and Via Latina. The second milestone must have stood just at this intersection.

The sarcophagus bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 18179 (cf. Matz-Duhn 3191 for the decoration) was according to Malvasia (d. 1693) found at the junction of the Viae Latina and Asinaria. Fabretti gives it twice, first as in the Vigna Brunona (*Inscript.* 166, 307) and again (*ibid.* 383, 211) as in the Villa Bevilacqua at Marino, where Vulpi (*Vetus Latium* vii. 149, viii. 235) saw it. It thence passed to the Palazzo Colonna, where it still is. Malvasia gives the inscription *ibid.* 27201, and Fabretti records the brick-stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 1079. a. 5 (134–155 A.D.) 1150·4 (Flavian period), as from the same place.

Excavations made in 1879, by Prince Alessandro Torlonia, just at this point, led to the discovery of a group of tombs lining the road, to which belonged the inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 11006, 15188, 15247, 24380, 29197, 36128, and of a villa, in which were found, a scaleyard of iron, rectangular terracotta pipes for hot air, and round ones for water; one of the last, with an elbow bend, is illustrated by Lanciani in *Comentari di Frontino* (*cit. supra*, 14), p. 400, and Tav. ix. Fig. 8. The lead pipe *C.I.L.* xv. 7564 was also found here; it gives the name of the owner of the villa as Q. Vibius Crispus, *curator*

20351, 21592, 22345, 22601, 22603, 23009, 24078, 24217, 24587, 24592, 24945, 25260, 25452, 25724, 27106, 27661, 27847, 28195, 28575, 28937, 29173, 29623, 29655, 30487, 34450, 34900. Also the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 157 (13), 596 (7, 22) (Hadrian), 684 (Trajan), 759 (Commodus), 772 (2) (Septimius Severus). Of these 12283, 17038, 17793, 24587, 24592 were found in 1875 (Armellini, *Cronachetta*, 1875, 61); 22306, 22307, 22601, 23009, 24945, 25452, 29623, 30487, 34450, 34900, in 1883 (*ibid.* 1883, 173), while 22345, 27847 are recorded to have been found in the Vigna Maggiorani, which is the name of another owner of the Vigna Virili.

aquarum in 68–71 A.D. and thrice consul, a friend of Vespasian, who died about 93 A.D. (*Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, iii. no. 379). A subsequent owner may have been T. Avidius Quietus, a friend of Thrasea Paetus and Pliny the Younger, who was already dead by about 107 A.D. (*Prosopographia cit.* i. no. 1172); but the provenance of *C.I.L.* xv. 7400. b. 2, a lead pipe bearing his name, is uncertain, though it is 'believed to have been found in the excavations of Prince Torlonia at the Caffarella in February, 1878 (*sic*).' Notwithstanding the discrepancy in date, the same excavations are probably referred to, as no other excavations in other parts of the *tenuta* are recorded for 1878–9. Tomassetti (*Via Latina*, 33, n.) attributes to these excavations the bust no. 123, now in the Museo Torlonia in the Lungara: according to the catalogue it was simply found 'near the first mile.' The catalogue of the Museo Torlonia on the other hand (1880 edition) gives as found here in 1878 nos. 75 (bust of Leucothea), 353 (a fine alabaster column with the cinerary urn which stands upon it), 364 (Bacchus seated on a sheep), 425 (a bust of Maecenas? not noticed by Bernoulli), 525 (a bust of Honorius?) and in view of the fact that the discoveries were made only two years before, one might suppose that its indications, which are as a rule untrustworthy, could be accepted.

Brickstamps were also found, according to one account (*Not. Scav.* 1879, 142) among the ruins of the villa, according to the other, in which the villa is not mentioned (*Bull. Com.* 1881, 34), in the walls of the tombs (*C.I.L.* xv. 368, 1449 f, 1823, 2010, where Dressel is probably wrong in supposing that two separate discoveries are referred to by the two separate accounts). The dates given by them range from the end of the 1st (1449) to the middle of the 2nd century (368). A sarcophagus, hewn out of a block of tufa 2·02 mètres long by 0·65 broad inside, still lies by the road at this point.

The *deverticulum* leads, on the south side of the Via Latina, to the Valley of the Almo (Marrana della Caffarella), and across it to the Via Appia. The group of buildings there, which belonged to the estate of Herodes Atticus, will be dealt with in the description of the Via Appia.

On the opposite side of the Via Latina is the Vigna Lazzaroni; excations brought to light unimportant terracotta fragments, and a lead tablet with an inscription, the text of which is not given (*Not. Scavi cit.*).

From this point there is a short ascent to the top of the hill, which commands a fine view: on the right of the road is the concrete core of a tomb, and a little further S.W. a large open circular reservoir, some

25 mètres in diameter. It lies immediately above the northern Casale della Caffarella, which does not, however, show any traces of occupying the side of an ancient building: so that it very probably supplied the villa just described.

On the opposite (N.E.) side of the road is the Villa Fabri (which previously belonged to the Barzocchini and Remigi families), where the sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 8450a, 9122, 10765, 10911, 11271, 13610, 14673, 16552, 21558, have been copied, and were, presumably, found. 8450a is the inscription of *Ti. Claudius Aug.* [*lib.*] *Primianus tabularius fisci libertatis et peculiorum*, *i.e.* a clerk in the office for the collection of the 5 per cent. tax on the value of manumitted slaves, which also administered the funds arising from the private possessions (*peculia*) of deceased imperial slaves, which according to law returned to their masters. See Hirschfeld, *Kaiserliche Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian* (ed. ii). 109. 11271 runs as follows:—*D*(*is*) *M*(*anibus*) *Agrippinae bere* (= *vere*) *Memfianae fecerunt sui b*(*ene*) *m*(*erenti*) and appears to be the inscription of a devotee of Isis; the name Memphius, applied to the celebrated pantomimist Apolaustus may, Mommsen thinks, have the same meaning. The rest are in no way remarkable. Fragments of architecture and sculpture of no value are built into the villa itself. The 'ruderi' marked in the military map are apparently those of a modern house, which has since been adapted for habitation.

The Vigna de' Gualtieri on the Via Latina must have been in or just above the Caffarella valley, inasmuch as *C.I.L.* vi. 2980 (a fragment of the inscription of a soldier of the 5th cohort of *vigiles*) recorded as found in that vineyard by Donati (1765–75) was seen built into a house in the valley by De Rossi. Donati also records 13106 as in the same vineyard: and 35840, recorded as 'recently' found by the Giornale dei Letterati, part 1 (Florence 1750), p. 263, is given by Amati as 'alla Caffarella.'

A statue of Silvanus in the Museo Torlonia (no. 337) with the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 31025a is said in the catalogue (by P. E. Visconti) to have been found in the tenuta della Caffarella; but its indications of provenances have but little value.

At the top of the hill the pavement of the Via Latina is preserved beneath a few inches only of soil: it is supported on the S.W. by a substruction wall, the lower part of which is of *opus quadratum* of two courses of yellow tufa, the blocks being 0·57 mètre high, and well laid, while above

this comes concrete, at the bottom of which a row of flange tiles is laid horizontally with the flanges uppermost, while above the concrete is faced with rough *opus reticulatum*, with weepholes.

At the bottom of the descent, on the S.W. of the road, is a water reservoir in rough brickwork, with four external niches on the S. side, each 1·07 mètre deep, and respectively 0·43, 1·60, 1·60, 1·30 mètre wide. About 8 feet from the floor the thickness of the walls decreases by about 0·45 mètre. To the S.E. of it are several brick tombs, indicated in Map I. of *Papers* i. which call for no particular remark. Further to the S.W., to the S.E. of the larger and southwesternmost Casale della Caffarella are other ruins, and close to them a rock-cut drain.

Just before the Via Latina crosses the Via Appia Nuova, on the left, a part of the base of a tomb, of blocks of tufa, was found at the mouth of a pozzolana pit belonging to Sig. Vaselli; two of the blocks bore the following inscription, in large letters 19 cm. high, which I copied in January, 1899,

MPRONIFICIF · OLLI

The blocks were respectively 1·10 (left) and 1·40 (right) in length, 0·60 high, and 0·59 across the end.

In Borsari's article in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1898, 240, the portion laid bare is said to consist of five blocks of tufa, upon three of which the inscription S EMPRONIE is cut. From his copy it is published in *C.I.L.* vi. 36323. The letters, too, are said to be 0·10 m. high, and the blocks to measure 1·09 × 0·50 × 0·50 mètre. It would seem that only the first block was seen, and carelessly measured and copied, for, according to my copy, there was no letter on the block before the M. Two sepulchral inscriptions (*C.I.L.* vi. 34459,[1] 34595) were also found, and the head of a statuette of Ariadne or a bacchante.

By the time that the inscription was republished in *Nuovo Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1903, 175, the second block would seem to have disappeared, and the first to have been fractured on the right. For there the inscription is given as (se) MPRONI, the lower half of the I being broken away. At

[1] Aonia Faceta, to whom this inscription is erected, put up an inscription to her daughter Aonia Fortunata, which was copied outside Porta Maggiore in the 16th cent. (*C.I.L.* vi. 12089).

present (February 1907) the block with the letters MPRONIE is still *in situ*. It might also be possible that the two blocks that I saw, being in the line of the entrance to the quarry, were both removed, and that the block now existing was not yet visible in January 1899. But the obstacle to this is that the block at present visible *seems* to have been seen by Borsari in June 1898.

To the S.E. of this tomb are other foundations in *opus mixtum*. Within the pozzolana pit a small unknown catacomb was discovered containing a rough painting which may be attributed to the fourth century, with several scenes represented in it. Marucchi believes that the cemetery belonged to a heretical sect, perhaps the Valentiniani. A group of vases represented in the painting may refer to superstitious Eucharistic rites introduced by one Marcus, of which Irenaeus (*adv. haer.* i. 13. 2) speaks, while at the Eucharistic banquet represented there are twelve persons (seven being the usual number in catacomb paintings), a number sacred in the eyes of this sect.

A Greek inscription attributed to the fourth century A.D. (*C.I.G.* iv. 9595 a), found by Fortunati in 1857 (*Relazione*, p. 42, no. 41) near the well-known tombs at the third mile (*infra*, 61) but obviously not *in situ*, was erected to a woman who was a follower of the same heretical sect.

No Christian inscriptions were, however, found within the catacomb itself—only a few fragments of Pagan sepulchral inscriptions, which undoubtedly did not belong to it. The *loculi* were closed by tiles, bearing stamps ranging from 123 A.D. to the time of Septimius Severus, with one exception, *C.I.L.* xv. 1684, which belongs to the post-Diocletianic period: but upon these tiles there were no painted inscriptions. See Kanzler in *Nuovo Bull. Crist.* 1903, 173 *seq.*; Marucchi, *ibid.* 282 *seq.* 301 *seq.*; Wilpert, *Pitture delle catacombe romane*, tav. 265 *seq.*, pp. 495 *seq.*

To the S.E. again on a hillock is a large and prominent tomb, a solid mass of brown tufa concrete. Below it I saw in 1899 the end of the *pulvinar* (?) of a large altar—a semicircular block of travertine 0·90 mètre long as far as preserved, 0·885 in diameter, and 0·44 in height, the end of which was almost entirely taken up by a large flower cut in relief. Behind the tomb I saw a terracotta sarcophagus, recently opened, the bones of which had been dispersed: one of the internal angles of it had been strengthened with cement. From this point was taken the view reproduced in Pl. II, Fig. 1.

On the N.E. side of the road are foundations of other tombs in *opus reticulatum* and *opus mixtum*.

On the S.W. side of the Via Latina, above the Valle della Caffarella, in enlarging an old pozzolana pit, a little beyond the second (ancient?) mile, the remains of a columbarium were found in 1890, and in it the sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 34314, 34318, 36229, and a slab, 0·25 × 0·20 mètre, with two lines crossing at right angles (*not* a Christian cross) cut upon it (Lanciani in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1890, 115). Tomassetti asserts (p. 37 n.) that the *Suburbanum Mazzantium*, in which the tomb of the Abuccii (*C.I.L.* vi. 8117–8172, cf. 33708) was found in the 18th century, is identical with the Vigna Terilli on the left of the Via Latina near this point, though the editors of the *Corpus* treat the exact site as unknown, the only indication being that of Fabretti, that it was on the Via Asinaria. It is no more than possible that *ibid.* 1920, 9822, which were in the possession of Francesco Mazzanti at the same period, belong to this site.

In the vineyard of the Minor Conventuals, at the second mile of the Via Latina, Fabretti saw a large cippus, bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 9831. Several inscriptions are recorded as having been found in the Vigna of Mario Bernardi on the Via Latina two miles from the gate, in 1738: these are *C.I.L.* vi. 11620, 12239, 13832, 15972, 15973, 18946, 22210, 29329. *C.I.L.* vi. 19926, an inscription finely carved on a marble block with a curved front (from a round tomb of blocks of marble, therefore) was found two miles from Rome on the Via Latina about 1870. It was erected by a freedman of Augustus, who had previously been a slave of Maecenas. A later inscription, carelessly cut, records the restoration of the monument. It is now in the entrance court of the Museo delle Terme. In 1880, on the left of the bridge of the Via Appia Nuova, just before the second mile, near the so-called Casetta degli Spiriti (which is on the right of the road), in digging pozzolana in the tenuta of Arco Travertino, three sepulchral inscriptions were found (*C.I.L.* vi. 26656 a, 27726, 29372) and some tiles with the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1139 *Felicis Flaviaes Domitil(lae)* (sc. *servi*). Which of the four Flaviae Domitillae is referred to is quite uncertain (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1880, 82).

In 1871, at the back of the Casetta degli Spiriti, some walls (possibly of baths), and the specus of an aqueduct in *opus reticulatum*, were found in a quarry: the latter was explored by Parker, and identified by him in all probability correctly, with the Aqua Antoniniana (*supra*, 14: see

Parker, *Aqueducts*, p. 18 and Diagrams, Pl. VIII, C = *Historical Photographs*, 2106, for a plan and section of the specus; Lanciani in *Comentari di Frontino*, *cit.* p. 316). In 1889, in the pozzolana quarry of Sig. Morelli, near the Osteria of the Cessati Spiriti, the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 27751 a was found (*Not. Scavi*, 1889, 226).

I may conclude this first section by describing the discoveries along the Via Latina of which the exact site is not known, though they are obviously to be attributed to its initial portion. I shall first take those in which the name of a vineyard is mentioned, which I have not as yet been able to identify.

The situation of the Vigna Mileti, in which Smetius states that *C.I.L.* vi. 2342 was discovered, is uncertain. The inscription runs *Barnaeus de familia public(a) reg(ionis) viii.*: the man must belong to the fire-brigade of 600 men instituted by Augustus, and placed first under the curule aediles (Dio, liv. 2) and then under the several regions into which Rome was divided in 8 B.C. (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* i.[3] 328, n. 5.) This body was superseded in 6 A.D. by the *vigiles*, who did duty both as police and as a fire-brigade: and one may thus perhaps suppose that the inscription was prior to that date, if Mommsen's view is correct.

In the same vineyard was found according to Smetius (Ligorio attributes it to the vineyard of Latino Iuvenale) the inscription *ibid.* 3560, in honour of two brothers L. and P. Aelius of Brescia who had served in Germany with the 16th legion; it must belong to the 1st century A.D., inasmuch as part of the legion perished outside Cremona in 69 A.D. in the defeat of Vitellius' troops by Antonius Primus and after the revolt of Civilis the rest was disbanded or transferred to the Legio xvi Flavia Firma and sent to Syria.

Large tiles $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet square and $2\frac{1}{3}$ inches thick were also found here in the 16th cent. *extra portam Latinam in vinea Ioannis Mileti Trecensis*, bearing the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 2232 (early in the 1st cent. A.D.), and noted by Guglielmo Filandro in his *Adnotationes ad Vitruvium* (Lyons, 1552).

Ligorio (*Neap.* xxxix. 190) gives the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 18447 as 'in the vineyard of Giovanni the banker.' Malvasia (1690) repeats it as on the Via Latina in the Vigna Bordonesia. Ligorio gives *ibid.* 23941 as 'near' the same vineyard (to which Reinesius 14, 201 adds that it was on the Via Latina).

Ficoroni, writing on 9 July, 1735, remarks on the inscription, *C.I.L.* vi.

27998 (*libertorum et familiae M. Valeri Eupori et Valeriae Epictesis*) found outside the Porta Latina, that it was noteworthy as having been placed on the façade of a tomb.

In the Vigna Degli Effetti, outside the Porta Latina, in a pozzolana quarry, the group of a Triton and a nymph, now in the Sala degli Animali in the Vatican (no. 228; Visconti, *Museo Pio Clementino*, i. Pl. XXXIII. Helbig, *Führer*, i,[2] no. 184) was found in the time of Pius VI.

Fea notes the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1421 (141 A.D.) as having been found on some tiles which served for the covering of a tomb (clearly, therefore, one of a late period) discovered in Nov. 1815 in the vineyard of the late avvocato Ludovichetti (*Fasti* (Rome, 1820), p. cxvii, no. 51).

In 1734, outside the Porta Latina (the site of the discovery is not precisely given), a Christian sarcophagus was found, with the Sun and Moon on the sides. On the cover were games in the circus. It had already before 1741 found its way into the Villa Corsini: cf. Ficoroni, *mem.* 48 in Fea, *misc.* I. cxxxxiii=*Roma antica* (Rome, 1741) 272, where Ficoroni notes his belief that the cover did not belong to the same sarcophagus—a remark which Fea omits.

It may probably be identified with a sarcophagus (with a large head of the Sun and Moon at each of the front corners, with chariot races under the tablet in the centre and vintage scenes with *putti* in the rest of the front) which is published by Bottari, *Roma Sotterranea* (Rome, 1737) i. 125 and plate. The fact that the plate is given in the text and not in the series of plates may indicate that it is a recent addition. It is described as in the Palazzo Corsini by Matz-Duhn, 2772, who do not make the identification I have proposed. Tomassetti (38 n.) speaks of it as still in the Villa Pamphili, and gives the site of the discovery as the intersection of the Via Latina with the Appia Nuova.

In 1734 in a ruined *columbarium* on the Via Latina (further details are not given) 'near which are the ruins of the sepulchral chambers of some Mausoleum' (*Roma Antica*, 1741, p. 279) was found a basrelief representing a woman lying on a bed, with two flute players standing by, and below the word MORITVR. (Ficoroni, *Maschere Sceniche*, p. 222=*mem.* 65 in Fea, *misc.* I. cxxxxviii.) It passed at once to the Museo Kircheriano and is now in the Museo delle Terme (*C.I.L.* vi. 29955).

In the Vigna Candidi near the Porta Latina Fabretti records *C.I.L.* vi. 28844.

In the Vigna Ciorri on the Via Latina Fabretti records *C.I.L.* vi. 10163 (the inscription of a *vilicus amphitheatri*), 18125, 28590. The vineyard is otherwise unknown.

'Not far from the Porta Latina' (according to the catalogue) was found a torso of Diana as a huntress, now in the Museo Torlonia (no. 9) and 'on the Via Latina,' a statue of a boy (no. 169) and a statuette of Venus (no. 271) in the same collection.

The site of the Vigna Orlandi is not certain; Bartoli in *Roma Antica* (1741) 336=*mem.* 90 in Fea, *misc.* I. ccxlvi speaks of it as 'nella detta Via Appia avanti che si congiunga con quella di S. Giovanni' (which the true Via Appia does not do before Le Frattocchie)—the paragraph is, however, headed Via Latina. But in any case it seems very doubtful whether Lanciani (*Ruins and Excavations*, 331) is right in referring it to the junction of the Appia Vetus and the Latina within the Aurelian walls. Here were found the entrances to both pagan tombs and catacombs; and objects of interest were found in both of them—marbles, columns, inscribed slabs, urns, sarcophagi with reliefs, chests of lead and glass, Priapi in terracotta, gems and cameos, bronzes, etc. The discovery came to the ears of Donna Olimpia Panfili, who had no less than four cartloads of the objects removed, to the great annoyance of the owner, so that he closed other openings, which were afterwards found, and covered up a large sarcophagus with reliefs found near the gate of the vineyard.

C.I.L. vi. 9814 (the inscription of a *plumarius*, a feather merchant), 11873, 18826, 26716, 27316, 29515, were seen by Santarelli in a vineyard a mile outside Porta S. Giovanni in Fea's time, but were said to have been found on the Via Latina.

In the Vigna Antoniniana outside the Porta Latina Vettori saw in 1748 (letter of May 11 to Gori) the inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 10085 (the tombstone of P. Aelius Agathemerus, freedman of the emperor, *medicus rationis summi choragi*, *i.e.* doctor to the staff of the depot of decorations and machinery for the Colosseum—cf. Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie*, i. 3. 302, Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten* (ed. 2) 293), 13114, 24302.

Fabretti notes *C.I.L.* vi. 17041 and xv. 548 b. 2 (a brickstamp of 123 A.D.) as coming from the Vigna Molari, on the Via Latina, and mentions *C.I.L.* vi. 9131 as found in the Vigna Santacroce on the Via Latina.

On March 6, 1794 Zoega noted as found in the Vigna Soprani,

outside the Porta Latina, a dedication to Venus Caelestis for the safety of Trajan (*C.I.L.* vi. 780) and a sepulchral inscription (*ib.* 19821).

In the Vigna Filippani on the left of the Via Latina near Rome *C.I.L.* vi. 14640 was copied by De Rossi in the latter half of the 19th century.

C.I.L. vi. 12113 is noted by Fabretti 'at the first mile': but it is, as usual, impossible to tell whether the reckoning is from the Porta Capena or the Porta Latina—probably the latter.

The number of inscriptions in regard to which even the name of the vineyard in which they were found is unknown, though they certainly belong to the first mile or two of the Via Latina, is not inconsiderable. Those which call for special mention[1] are *C.I.L.* vi. 413 (a dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus, Juno, Castor and Pollux, and Apollo the Preservers, by one Thyrsus for the safety of his patron, himself, and his family, made on October 10, 244 A.D.: for further details cf. Mommsen *in loc.* It is given by Fea, *Fasti*, 88 (Rome 1820) as recently discovered), 1447 (a base, also given by Fea, *ibid.* as recently found, and erected on the 1st Jan. of the same year as no. 413—so that they were no doubt found together—by one Eutychianus of Smyrna, a vintager, to L. Lorenius Crispinus, consul at some date unknown, probably the man who in 238 shared with Tullius Menophilus the defence of Aquileia against Maximinus: see *Prosopographia*, ii. p. 299, no. 254), 3439 (the upper part of a large cippus, in memory of an *evocatus Augusti*: now transferred to the Villa Tomba on the Via Nomentana), 8881 (the tombstone of a freedman and *scriba librarius* (copyist) of Octavia, the sister of Augustus), 8909 (the inscription of Thyrius, the slave of the emperor Tiberius, an eye doctor—*Thyrius, Ti(berii) Caesaris Aug. ser(vi) Celadianus medicus ocularius pius parentium suorum vixit annos xxx hic situs est in perpet(uum)*—cut upon a cippus of travertine and found in 1602.

Pighius also gives *C.I.L.* vi. 9493 as having been found 'on the right of the Via Latina going out,' whether inside or outside the gate is uncertain: Hülsen has, however, proved (*Röm. Mitt.* 1895, 291, cf. *C.I.L. ibid.* 2364,* 33809, where the reference is wrongly given as 1894, 291) that it is a forgery of Ligorio, and was not only invented by him, but actually carved in stone.

[1] The rest are *ibid.* 8416, 10968, 12578, 14012, 14044, 14382, 14877, 14902, 15195, 15762, 17655 (?), 18593 (?), 18861, 19121, 21465, 21788, 24543, 25108, 26723, 27324, 27417, 28377, 29249, 29295, 30040, 30044, 30102, 30486.

Ficoroni purchased in 1732 from the Abbate Clemente Ferretti, *C.I.L.* vi. 17121, 17938, 18990, 19456, 19720, 19859 (apparently from a columbarium, speaking of a joint tomb in which the dedicator made provision for himself, his wife, and his freedmen and freedwomen, *pro parte sua parietum trium introeuntibus in monimento contra et sinistra et in fronte monimenti et superficie*), 20314, 21239, 21602, 23209, 23324, 27521, which had been found on the right, outside the Porta Latina. Some of these inscriptions are now in Lowther Castle, near Penrith.

The cippus vi. 13602 with figures of the deceased boy and his mother was found 'near the Porta Latina'—whether inside or outside the gate is uncertain—about 1650 (Vatican *Gall. Lapid.* 91 d). It is noticeable as having the days of the week of the birth and death of the boy (Dies Lunae and Dies Saturni) indicated—a somewhat rare thing in an undoubtedly Pagan inscription (Mommsen, *Röm. Chron.* (ed. 2) 313: De Rossi, *Inscript. Christ.* I. lxxi).

16120 is recorded 'on the left of the Porta Latina going out' by Signorili (1344–7).

The vagueness of record continues for a long while: even of *C.I.L.* vi. 30044, 'a boundary stone of tufa still affixed to a tomb, on the left of the Via Latina' copied by C. L. Visconti in the latter half of last century, we do not know the exact provenance.

16366 was found 'near the gate' in 1880 (Armellini, *Cronachetta*, 1880, 176), 18576 was found near the gate in 1856 (*Giorn. Arcad.* cxliv. (1856) p. 24 n. 32) and passed into the hands of Guidi: 18593, 20636, 22584, 24543, 25108, 29249, 30102 shared the same fate, but the exact site of their discovery is not known.

C.I.L. vi. 14572, 20525, 23243, 25062, 25834 were found 1 mile out in 1727, and copies sent by Como to Muratori in 1732.

On February 9th, 1594, licence was given to Filippo Rebotti of Milan to dig for pozzolana in a piece of land belonging to Cynthia de' Vitelleschi outside Porta Latina, and to excavate marble, travertine, statues, and gold and silver (Provvedimenti del Camerlengo 1593–94, c. 175 in the Archivio di Stato at Rome, quoted by Prof. Lanciani in the *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 50, the proof-sheets of which he kindly allowed me to see).

A number of inscriptions found by Ficoroni are of uncertain provenance. His operations were apparently being carried on extensively, and the discoveries were not always properly recorded. Thus, a numerous

group were sent to Gori and Muratori by Ficoroni himself as found 'in the *columbaria* of the Via Appia, Latina, or Salaria.'

C.I.L. vi. 12645, 12929, 17263 are given by Ligorio as found 'between the Via Appia and the Via Latina,' their genuineness being otherwise vouched for—the latter indeed being extant (Museo Chiaramonti, 95 G). One is not, however, absolutely sure whether they were found within or without the walls.[1]

II.—THE PORTA METRONI.

Having described the Via Latina and the remains of antiquity along its course as far as the point where it intersects the Via Appia Nuova, it is now necessary to return to Rome, and to deal in order with the roads that left Rome to the north of it, up to the Via Labicana, which has been already dealt with in *Papers* i.

The next gate in the Aurelian wall to the Porta Latina in this direction is the so-called Porta Metroni, a small gate with a single opening, now closed, spanned by a brick arch, the date of which is uncertain though it is probably coeval with the wall.

The Porta Metroni, Metrovi, Metrovia, Metronia, etc. (the various forms, of which the first is the oldest, are discussed by Tomassetti, 6 *seq.*) is not mentioned before the sixth century A.D. In origin it was probably only a postern, and the theory, which Tomassetti maintains, that the original Via Latina ran out through the gate corresponding to it in the Servian wall (Querquetulana?), which must be, hypothetically, placed between the Villa Mattei and S. Stefano Rotondo, has little to recommend it.

An inscription on the tower inside it records repairs made to the walls in 1157 (Tomassetti, 10, whose interpretation of the initial letters seems to me more correct than that of Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 78, though the former has not noticed the existence of erasures).

The date of the closing of the Porta Metroni is uncertain. The gate

[1] As I have already said, I have abstained from speaking of the mediaeval period, already so well dealt with by Professor Tomassetti: but I may well here give a reference which I owe to the kindness of Mr. J. A. Twemlow, though I cannot further localize the place mentioned. In vol. 202 of the Papal Registers (Martin V. fol. 10d) there is a mention of 'nonnullas vineas "le uigne de la Torre de Janneuerso" vulgariter nuncupatas sitas extra muros Urbis prope portam Latinam, que quidem vinee iuris et proprietatis ecclesiae sancti Nicolai in Carcere Tulliano fuerant . . . .' (7 Id. Dec. anno secundo—*i.e.* 7th Dec. 1419).

is not indicated in the plan in *Codex Vaticanus* 1960 (De Rossi, *Piante icnografiche e prospettiche di Roma anteriori al secolo XV*, tav. i), which dates from a period previous to Nicholas III (1277). It had already been closed by the time of Eugenius IV (1431–47), when Biondo da Forlì wrote his *Roma Ristaurata* (cf. the 1558 ed. p. 5^{v}), and we also see it closed in the plan of Rome in *Codex Vaticanus Urbinas*, 277, which belongs to about the time of Nicholas V (De Rossi, *op. cit.* tav. iii, where it is called P(orta) metromi [sic] murata). In 1534 Marliani, *Antiquae Romae Topographia* 18^{v} wrote *Gabiusa (porta), quae in angulo murorum sub Caeliolo occurrit, sed clausa: per quam ingreditur rivus aquae nunc Marianae. Gabiusae autem obtinuit nomen q(uod) recta in Gabios oppidum, nunc Galicanum, mitteret. Metrodii deinde porta a mensura est dicta.*

Fulvio (ed. 1543, 21^{v}) points out the error of calling the Porta Metroni the Porta Gabina or Gabiusa, 'perchè la porta Gabiusa seguitaua incontanête dopo la Collatina' (which, however, he wrongly identifies with the Porta Pinciana, 15^{v}).

Parker (*Aqueducts*, Diagrams pl. XIV) wrongly attributes to the early Empire the arch under the Aurelian wall by which the Marrana enters the city at the Porta Metroni. The stream itself, which will be dealt with later, was brought into Rome by Calixtus II in 1122: cf. Lanciani, *Comentari di Frontino* in *Memorie dei Lincei*, Ser. iii. vol. iv. (1880) 325 *seq.* Tomassetti, *Bull. Com.* 1893, 65 *seq.* follows Fabretti (*de Aquis* (1788) 143) in holding that this stream dates from the classical period. In this, however, he is wrong: for while it is true that the tunnel by which it passes through the hill to the N. W. of Centroni (*infra*, 118), is not, as Lanciani says, of mediaeval, but of classical origin, this tunnel was made, not for it, but for the Aqua Claudia (*Classical Review*, 1900, 327), and it has very likely appropriated the *specus* of this aqueduct between the Casalotto and Casale Bertone, near the station of Capannelle.

The district both inside and outside the gate was low and marshy, (*infra*, 43) and bore, in the late classical period, at any rate, the name of Decennium or Decenniae: see *C.I.L.* vi. 31893, a fragmentary inscription of about 370 A.D. containing an edict of the *praefectus urbi* in regard to fraudulent practices committed by certain tradesmen. Previous to the discovery of this inscription the name was considered to be of mediaeval origin (Tomassetti, 17) being first mentioned in a document of 857 A.D. (*Reg. Subl.* no. 87 ed. Allodi-Levi, p. 132).

The road which issued from the Porta Metroni is clearly marked in Bufalini's plan, and, though the first portion has been obliterated since the gate was closed, it is, more or less, prolonged by the Vicolo dello Scorpione, which now, however, contains no traces of antiquity. It is possible, though by no means certain, that its line was continued by the lane which connects the Via Tuscolana with the Vicolo del Mandrione, passing the Molino Lais and the Molino S. Pio. This lane has a few pavingstones used as kerbstones, and just before it reaches the Aqua Claudia there are some more pavingstones in the modern paving of an open space in front of a house.

In a vineyard outside Porta Metroni was found the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 29776

[p]orticus triumphi itu et reditu octies semis efficit passus m.

III.—THE PORTA ASINARIA (S. GIOVANNI) AND THE VIA APPIA NUOVA.

To the N.E. of the Porta Metroni is the Porta Asinaria, immediately to the S.W. of the modern Porta S. Giovanni. It is among the best preserved gates of the Aurelian wall. It is built entirely of brick, and is flanked by two round towers.

Procopius mentions it in *Bell. Goth.* i. 14, iii. 20. In the former passage he states that Belisarius was advancing along the Via Latina and entered by it: in the latter there are no topographical details.

Its position is given us by its mention in the description of the walls which comes at the end of the Einsiedeln Itinerary, and which according to some authorities is taken from the measurement of the walls made by Ammon in 403 A.D., but which Lanciani (following De Rossi, *Piante icnografiche e prospettiche di Roma*, 70) attributes, with more probability, to the time of Hadrian I, inasmuch as the Porta Pinciana is mentioned in it as closed (*Bull. Com.* 1892, 101, n. 2).

It already began to be called Porta S. Iohannis in the time of William of Malmesbury (Urlichs, *Codex urbis Romae Topographicus*, 88). It was closed in 1408 by King Ladislaus, according to the diary of Antonio di Pietro (*Rerum. Ital. Script.* xxiv. 992), though this may have been a temporary measure. For it is still shown as open with a road issuing from it in the 15th and 16th century panoramas of Rome, in Bufalini's

plan (1551), and in the anonymous map of the Campagna of 1557, with the arms of Paul IV (*infra*, 46), and is not mentioned as closed by the 16th century topographers.

The present gate was erected by Gregory XIII in 1574, the level of the road being raised, its line changed slightly, and the old gate finally closed. The new gate must have occupied the site of the first tower to the N.E. of the old one, the tower being demolished to give space for it. It may be distinguished in Cartari's panoramic views of Rome, Rocchi, *Piante* tav. xiii (1575) xvi (1576).

A satisfactory explanation of the name Asinaria has not yet been given. Hülsen rejects the derivation from the name of the family of the Asinii (Pauly-Wissowa *Realencyclopädie*, ii. 1581) which Tomassetti, 28 is inclined to maintain; though it would not be a sufficient argument even if it were (as he suspects) the fact, that a number of sepulchral inscriptions of the Asinii were found in this district. The obvious derivation from 'asinus' with a somewhat uncomplimentary interpretation, will be found in Marliani, *Topographia* (ed. 1534 f. 18^{v}) *cui (portae) Asinariae a regno, ut aiunt, asinorū, quod est Neapolitanum, quo mittit, etiam fuit nomen*, and Fulvio (ed. 1543 f. 21).

The road that issued from the gate (having previously passed through the Porta Caelemontana of the Servian wall), the Via Asinaria, is mentioned by Festus, p. 282 Müll. (s.v. *retricibus*) *retricibus cum ait Cato in ea, quam scripsit, cum edissertavit Fulvi Nobilioris censuram, significat aquam eo nomine quae est supra viam Ardeatinam inter lapidem secundum et tertium, qua inrigantur horti infra viam Ardeatinam et Asinariam usque ad Latinam.* It also occurs in the Breviarium, which forms the first appendix to the Notitia and Curiosum.

From the passage of Festus and from that of Procopius cited above, it would appear that it was a branch road of the Via Latina, connecting it with the Via Appia and perhaps also with the Ardeatina. It is somewhat more difficult to determine the details of its course. Tomassetti (31 note) describes it as following a course parallel to the Via Appia Nuova as far as the Vicolo della Caffarella, in which, halfway between the Via Appia Nuova and the Via Latina, he saw traces of pavement, with a fragment of *crepido*, which he attributes to it, and which is no longer to be seen. He therefore considers that at this point it made an angle, and followed the Vicolo della Caffarella from this point onwards, intersecting

the Via Latina, and joining the Via Appia between the church of S. Sebastiano and the Circus of Maxentius. He also states that its intersection with the Via Latina is given in the Vigna Santambrogio (formerly Virili) on the right of the Latina (28 n., 32 n. cf. *supra*, 28) by a line of tombs, chambers with frescoes, etc.

This is its line as given by Michele Stefano de Rossi (*Il Cimitero di Callisto*, 10, in G. B. de Rossi's *Roma Sotterranea*, ii), except that he makes it gradually incline towards the Via Latina for its whole course, joining it a little further on than the Vicolo della Caffarella.

Hülsen, on the other hand, marks the Via Asinaria as almost coinciding with the modern Via Appia Nuova (*Formae Urbis Romae Antiquae*, tab. ii). But in this case, it must have left the line of the modern road at the Vicolo della Caffarella and followed the latter right through to the Via Ardeatina.[1] There are no decisive traces of antiquity now visible—only a few loose pavingstones used as kerbstones—but Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 588 mentions them—and this is indeed the view of Hülsen (*s.v.* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, ii. 1581) and agrees best with the account of Rosa, who in 1861 apparently saw considerable traces of it in examining the discoveries made during the construction of the railway: he notes that its line could be distinguished, largely by the presence of ancient pozzolana quarries (on each side of, but not under it, apparently), as following the modern road until after crossing the railway, then turning down the Vicolo della Caffarella 'per raggiungere la via Latina e per attraversarla, come si vede dalle sue rilevanti traccie, seguendo fino nell' interno delle vigne quella via sinistra del primo bivio nel vicolo della Caffarella' (*Bull. Inst.* 1861, 72). Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 587 considers the Via Asinaria to be the Via delle Tre Madonne. This (*supra*, 21) seems, however, to be somewhat too near Rome as regards the Via Ardeatina, for its prolongation would join the latter only about a mile and a half from Rome. Lanciani (*Forma Urbis*, 37) does not mark the Via Asinaria at all, but indicates only the Via Tuscolana, as ancient.

The existence of a small brick tomb on the N.E. side of the Via Appia Nuova a little further on opposite the Osteria Quisisana (of which only the

[1] The road known as Vicolo S. Sebastiano, which runs from the Via Appia to the third kilomètre stone of the modern Via Ardeatina, *i.e.* about the third milestone of the ancient road, which here coincides with the modern (see Lanciani in *Monumenti dei Lincei*, xiii. 137) and is almost a prolongation of the Via Asinaria (whether it is actually a part of it or not) is certainly of ancient origin.

N.W. wall remains: it is 7·09 mètres long, with a pillar at each corner 0·38 m. square projecting about 0·05 m.: the brickwork is fine, with thin joints, and was intended to be left visible) makes it not improbable that it follows an ancient line as far as the Via Latina. This seems to be the view of Fabretti (*De Aquis*, Diss. i. tab. i, Diss. iii. tab. i), whose Via Asinaria is simply the Via Appia Nuova as far as the point where it reaches the Via Latina. After this the modern road shows no traces of antiquity, but represents, as a fact, the first portion of the road to Castrimoenium (*infra*, 81). The topographers of the 16th cent. wrongly called this road Via Campana instead of Via Asinaria, *e.g.* Marliani, *Antiquae Romae Topographia*, 1534, 166^{v} (cf. ed. 1544, 118) *a Caelimontana* (*porta*) *incipit uia Campana, quae statim extra portam in duas dirimitur semitas; sed post pauca stadia utraq̄ Latinae iungitur.* Fulvio (ed. 1543, 21) describes the two branches of the road, and says that it is called Campana, 'perchè ella ua in Campagna;' while Fauno (ed. 1548, 18^{v}) explains it as 'detta così perchè ella mena à terra di lauoro, che chiamarono gli antichi Campania,' and gives a similar account. Under this name it appears in Bufalini (sheet O P)—Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, identifies Bufalini's Via Campana with the Via Tuscolana, following the Cuneo copy: in the original, however, it is perfectly clear that the Via Appia Nuova is meant. The same is the case in the bird's-eye view of Francesco Paciotto (1557), no. 7 in the collection formerly in Mr. Quaritch's possession (*Bernard Quaritch's Rough List*, no. 135, pp. 119 *sqq.*, Rocchi, *op. cit.* tav. xx), which agrees also closely with Bufalini's representation of the lanes outside the gate.

The existence of a road in the first half of the 16th century at any rate, on the line of the Via Appia Nuova as constructed by Gregory XIII, is proved by the earliest map of the Campagna known to me—one lettered 'Paese di Roma,' bearing the arms of Paul IV and the date 1557. It is, however, of still older origin, as the Porta Ardeatina, destroyed under Paul III, is still shown on it, with a road leading to Castel Romano (the Via Laurentina, see Lanciani *Mon. Linc.* xiii. 137).

On this are marked, starting from the north [1]:—

(1) The Via Tuscolana (the Casale on the right of it is not easy to identify—perhaps the Tor di Mezza Via di Frascati) leading from the Porta S. Io(hannis) to Frascati: before arriving there it is crossed by a

[1] I only deal here with the roads which concern the present subject, and only the part of the map under discussion is here reproduced.

branch road from the Cella di Lucullo (Centroni—see below, p. 121) going past Torre Forame (*Papers*, i, map iii)—to the S.W. and E. of which the existence of woods is indicated, where now there are in the main vineyards, though the Macchia di Fontana Candida has only recently ceased to exist (*Papers*, i. 252)—to S. Silvestro above Monte Compatri. The first portion of this branch road must be the Via Cavona, and the second, from Torre Forame to S. Silvestro, the Via Labicana and its *deverticulum* past

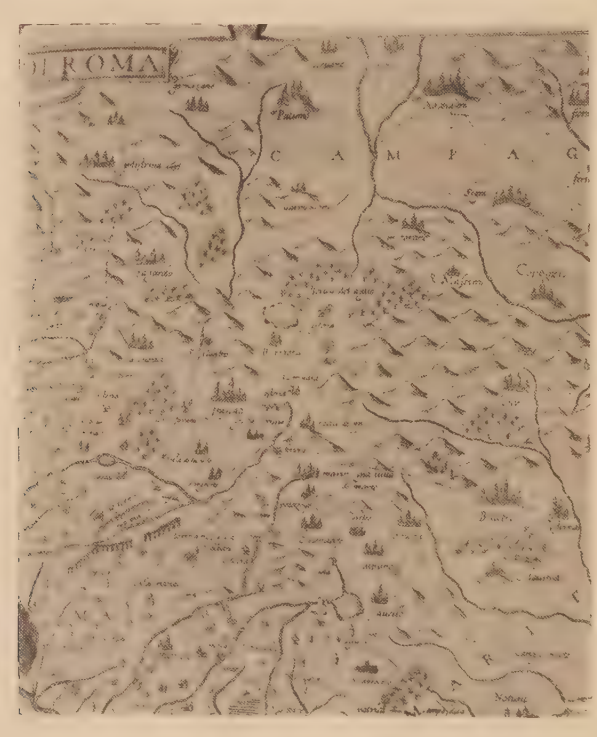


FIG. 1.—PART OF A SIXTEENTH CENTURY MAP OF THE CAMPAGNA (p. 45).

I Pallotta to Monte Compatri (*Papers*, *cit.* 253). The branch road from the Via Tuscolana a little beyond the modern 8th kilomètre stone, now called Via Anagnina, which gradually approximates to the Via Latina, and is crossed by it near Morena, following it closely thenceforth, does not appear in this map, but is first found indicated in that of Innocenzo Mattei (1666).

The Via Tuscolana is also perhaps shown in the map dated 24 Jan. 1557, showing the attack by the Duke of Alva on the mouth of the Tiber;

but incorrectly, for it really crosses the Marrana just where it passes under the aqueducts, whereas there it is marked as if going on some way after passing the aqueducts before it reaches the Marrana. It is probable therefore that what is shown is the Latina (from the second mile onwards), but even then the distance between the aqueducts and the Marrana (at Roma Vecchia) is exaggerated and the Marcia is not indicated.

(2) The Via Asinaria, branching off from the Via Tuscolana, and soon falling into

(3) The Via Latina, starting from the Porta Latina, and running under the aqueducts at Tor Fiscale. Beyond the aqueducts it is wrongly shown as crossing, not the Marrana itself (which it does twice), but the stream (the Fosso dell' Incastro or Fosso Giardino) which branches from it at Acqua Acetosa (*infra*, p. 118) and eventually runs to the Anio. The mediaeval castle of Borghetto is then indicated, and just beyond it a junction of roads—one the Via Latina, the other the path that passes through the valley just below the Abbey of Grottaferrata (on the opposite bank of the stream 'feriera' is indicated). The roads rejoin at La Molara (what is actually indicated under this title is uncertain: probably the castle, as it is shown on the right of the road: whether the osteria between the two roads is that of Squarciarelli or the present Casale della Molara is doubtful), shortly after which the branch road to Rocca Priora is indicated. To the left of the road is shown a large lake, no doubt meant for Doganella. It must be, then, to this that Biondo (*Italia Illustrata*, 102 ed. 1543) and Alberti (*Descrizione d' Italia*, 144 ed. 1550) refer, and not to the Laghetto della Colonna (as I supposed in *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1898, 110) though the description given by both of them is so confused that the mistake is perhaps excusable. Biondo says 'l'altra strada che è chiamata Latina, mena ne popoli Latini, e diece[1] miglia da Roma ha i uestigij d' una terra chiamata Colonna,[2] onde hanno i signori Colonnesi hauto l'origine, & il cognome loro; e qui comincia Algidio, selua celebrata tanto ne l'historie antiche, e chiamata hoggi la selua de gli Agli, nel cui mezzo si pigliano hoggi due strade, e per quella che è da man destra 14 miglia da Colonna si troua Valmontone, doue appresso dimostreremo, che furono i Labicani, per quella ch' è da man manca per minor strada si troua Gallicano, che

[1] Really about 15.

[2] It is doubtful whether this means the present village of Colonna or some ruins identified by Biondo with the Ad Columen mentioned by Livy (iii. 23. 6).

(secondo conietturamo) furono i Gabii. Hor per questa strada Latina, ne l'entrar de la selua de gli Agli è il lago Regillo, c' hoggi il chiamano di Santa Seuera.'

Alberti's account is similar.

To the right of the road is an osteria, no longer extant, and close to it a road is marked as branching off to Cori. The road now traverses the pass and forest of Algidus ('selva del aglio') and beyond it forks, a branch going to Valmontone, and the main road straight on, passing below 'm(onte) fortino,' Segni (with a branch across to 'Adanagni' (sic)) Supino and Giuliano.

The Via Labicana was, we may note in passing, not in use between Colonna and Valmontone, but travellers went from Colonna to Palestrina, Paliano, and Anagni, this road not being in use for posting to Naples.

(4) A road branching to the right from the Via Latina at the gate, and leaving 'Cafareli' (the casale della Caffarella) on the left, then joining the line of the Via Appia Nuova and leaving on the left the 'torre a meza via d'albano,' then passing through Marino and on the N. side of the Lake of Albano and so to Velletri, as it is described by Biondo (100^{v}) and Alberti (140).

(5) The Via Asinaria, which is not, however, carried northwestwards beyond the Via Latina.

(6) The Via Appia proper, leading past 'Capo di boue' and 'Casal ritondo' to Albano. The prominence given to the 'Lago di Turno' and the omission of the lake of Nemi are noticeable.

At the Porta S. Giovanni the Vicolo dei Canneti diverges E.S.E. from the Via Appia Nuova. Before the construction of the goods yard, it joined the Via Labicana; whether it is ancient there is no evidence to show, but from its line one might be inclined to infer it. Nor is there any certainty as to the antiquity, or the reverse, of the road which runs parallel to it on the N.

The sculptures in the Vigna Fiorelli to the left of the Vicolo dei Canneti have mostly been transported thither from another Vigna Fiorelli outside Porta S. Paolo, where they were much damaged in the course of the siege in 1849. A list of them is given in the Index to Matz-Duhn, to which *ibid.* no. 3865 may be added, as it was in the latter until about 1880, when it passed by purchase to the Villa Wolkonsky. Here also are the inscriptions

C.I.L. vi. 11359 (in the Vigna Torri in the 18th century) 12194, 12723, 13238 (transferred from the Via Ostiensis).

The inscriptions given vaguely as found 'outside the Porta S. Giovanni' (in the immediate vicinity of Rome) are *C.I.L.* vi. 8695 (recording an imperial freedman *adiutor ab actis*), 9443 (the marble architrave of a tomb with a finely cut inscription, recording the name of three people, one of them a *glutinarius*, or maker of glue, discovered in Fea's time outside the Porta S. Giovanni on the right—*Fasti*, Rome, 1820, p. 106, 43), 16753 (a sepulchral inscription found 'in quodam agro' outside the gate in 1616, later bought by Townley, and now in the British Museum), 20343, 24408 ('ad Viam Asinariam' Fabretti), 28591 (near the gate on the right); *I.G.* xiv. 1996, 2014.

The sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 1852 (erected in memory of a *scriba librarius aedilium curulium, lictor curiatius*) which was seen in the middle of the 16th century in the house of the Porcari family, and said by Ligorio to have been found on the Via Flaminia, was, according to Aldrovandi (*Le Statue di Roma*, p. 247), discovered outside the Porta S. Giovanni—a statement which is not noticed in the *Corpus*.

The Via delle Tre Madonne, which diverges to the S. just outside the gate, and runs to the Via Latina, has already been dealt with (*supra*, 21).

Near the Porta S. Giovanni, in the Vigna del Pozzo, were found two cippi of travertine, of the Republican period, bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 23616.

Tomassetti (p. 35 n. 1) notes the existence a short distance outside the gate, on the right, of a much injured relief, with four figures, one representing Diana with a dog.

A Greek inscription erected by Aglais, a freedwoman of Claudius Balbillus, governor of Egypt under Nero (*Prosopographia* i. p. 360, n. 662) is given by Ligorio (*Neap.* vii. 466) as having been found on the Via Valeria near the gate of S. Giovanni Laterano (sic). The indication is incorrect, but without further evidence it seems wrong to describe the inscription as belonging to Porto, as is done in *Prosopographia*, cit.

The Vicolo dello Scorpione, which falls into the Via Appia Nuova before the railway crossing, is mentioned, *supra*, 42.

In the Vigna dello Scorpione, no doubt along this vicolo on the right, there was found in May 1620 a sarcophagus with fine basreliefs, and in the oval of the cover the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 1373. D(is) M(anibus)

M. Cassio Paullino iii. vir a(ere) a(rgento) a(uro) f(lando) f(eriundo) tr(ibunus) m(ilitum) leg(ionis) i. It(alicae) q(uaestori) pr(ovinciae) Mac-(edoniae) ab act(is) sen(atus). It thence passed to the Villa Borghese (Montelatici, *Villa Borghese* (1700) 63), but where it is now is not known to me.

A mile from the Porta S. Giovanni in the Vigna Colonna the inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 19396, 35078 were copied in the latter part of the 19th century.

On a band of lead found in a vineyard one mile outside the Porta S. Giovanni was found the inscription (stamped) *C. Tatio Ger* (. . . .) (*C.I.L.* xv. 7994, from Bruzza's MS. notes).

In the vineyard of the Franciscans, one mile outside Porta S. Giovanni, *C.I.L.* vi. 18890, 21323 were copied in the eighteenth century.

From the Vigna Petraia one and a half mile out came, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, *C.I.L.* vi. 16731.

In the vineyard, outside this gate, of one Iacobus who dwelt near S. Marco, Manutius saw in the sixteenth century *C.I.L.* vi. 1554 (the fragment of a dedication to a man who had been governor of Sicily by the inhabitants of Leptis Maior) and 15530. An alabaster jar which bears the inscription *Flaviae Valentinae* (*C.I.L.* vi. 2416) was found in 1772, about two miles from the Porta S. Giovanni near the Via Latina, and was acquired by Townley. 'The ashes and half-burnt bones are still preserved within the urn, and mingled with them were seven coins of Emperors from Antoninus Pius to Elagabalus inclusive.' It is now in the British Museum (*Catalogue of Greek Sculpture*, no. 2416).

Several discoveries of sculptures are also recorded as having been made in the initial portion of the road. The statue of Antoninus Pius in S. Petersburg (no. 216) was found in 1825 near the Porta S. Giovanni: the head perhaps does not belong to it (Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.* ii. 2. 141, no. 8).

The so-called Macrinus of the Capitoline Museum (*Sala degli Imperatori*, 55) is said by the *Nuova Descrizione* of 1888 (followed by Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.* ii. 3. 75, no. 1) to have been found outside the Porta S. Giovanni. I have not yet been able to control the assertion.

A statuette of Dionysos now in Berlin (*Beschreibung* no. 94) was found 'in a vineyard outside Porta S. Giovanni' and acquired in 1827 by Bunsen (Levezow, *Berliner Kunstbl.*, 1828, 318).

Flaminio Vacca *mem.* 48[1] records that 'fuori della porta di S. Giovanni nella Vigna del Sig. Annibal Caro, essendovi un grosso massiccio dagli antichi fabbricato e dando noia alla vigna, il detto Sig. Annibale si risolse spianarlo. Vi trovò dentro murati molti ritratti d'imperatori, oltre tutti i dodici, ed un pilo di marmo, nel quale erano scolpite tutte le forze d'Ercole, e molti altri frammenti di statue di maniera greca, da eccellenti maestri lavorati. Delle suddette teste non mi ricordo che ne fosse fatto:[2] ma del pilo ne fu segata la faccia, e mandata a Nuvolara da monsignor Visconti.'

Vacca's statement (*mem.* 74) that the statues of the Niobids now in Florence were found a little way outside Porta S. Giovanni is incorrect: they were discovered within the Aurelian walls (Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie*, i. 3. 355, n. 33).

IV.—THE FIRST SECTION OF THE VIA TUSCOLANA (FROM ROME TO THE TENUTA DEL QUADRARO).

375 m. from the Porta S. Giovanni the so-called Via Tuscolana diverges to the left from the Via Appia Nuova. As to the antiquity of this road there has been considerable question. It is accepted by Lanciani (*Forma Urbis*, 37) and Hülsen (*Formae Urbis Romae Antiquae*, ii) but denied absolutely by De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.* 1872, 89, Stevenson, *Ann. Inst.* 1877, 356, and Tomassetti, *Via Latina*, 35, 48. Nor is it indicated as an ancient road by Fabretti, *De Aquis*, in his various maps. I should incline, personally, to accept it as probably ancient, as being an important line of communication, but it must be confessed that until it crosses the Via Cavona (*infra*, 134), beyond the 13th kilomètre, there is no decisive evidence in its favour. From that point onwards it seems almost certain that it represents the line of an ancient road.

In the Vigna Baldinotti at the bifurcation of the Via Appia Nuova and Via Tuscolana are preserved some fragments of sculpture: Matz-Duhn, 254 (Eros statuette) 823 ('Anchirrhoe' statuette) 3440 (a hexagonal pillar about 1·80 high with decorations of thyrsi, festoons, etc.) 3630 (a fragment

[1] I adopt Fea's numbering of Vacca's *memorie*.

[2] Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, ii. 86, conjectures that they passed to the Commune of Rome, and thence to the Capitol. For in 1576 we find the Conservators and other nobles ordered by the council to examine some statues offered for sale by Ottavio Caro, caporione della Regola, who may well have been a relative of Annibale. Nuvolara is not far from Brescia.

of a relief, representing Augustus standing, with a mourning female figure representing the province of Africa seated). The provenance of all these objects is unknown.

Along the Via Tuscolana recorded discoveries have been comparatively few. A dedication to Silvanus (*C.I.L.* vi. 649) was copied there in a vineyard by Doni in the first half of the 17th century.

The bilingual inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 20548; Kaibel, *I.G.* xiv. 1703 (the tombstone of T. Flavius Aug. lib. Alcimus and his wife Iulia Laudice, with a Greek epigram in honour of the latter, who was a Samian woman) was found according to Sirmond 'Via Tusculana ad Formas,' *i.e.* not very far from the Forta Furba, at which the road passes under the aqueducts.

In the Vigna Constantini between the Porta S. Giovanni and the Porta Furba was found *C.I.L.* vi. 15220.

Between the first and second kilomètres a road, possibly of ancient origin, diverges to the Via del Mandrione (*supra*, 42). Two piscinae found by Parker in 1871 on the left of the road just before the Porta Furba are mentioned *supra*, 14, 15. Traces of *opus reticulatum* may be seen on the left a little after the divergence of the Vicolo delle Cave (which shows no signs of antiquity) and just before reaching the Osteria del Pino on the right.

The construction of the fort (Batteria di Porta Furba) on the N.E. side of the railway led to the discovery of scanty remains of a building, of a double herm 0·30 mètre high, supposed to represent Bacchus and Ariadne, and of a much weathered female head (*Not. Scav.* 1883, 212). *Ibid.* 422 gives the description of a group of reservoirs also found here.

The road now passes through the so-called Porta Furba, an arch by which the Aqua Felice crosses the Via Tuscolana, and is joined by the Via del Mandrione, the modern representative of an ancient *deverticulum* from the Via Labicana along the line of the aqueducts (*Papers*, i. 220; *Not. Scav.* 1890, 12; *Bull. Com.* 1905, 289).

On the right in a pozzolana quarry are the scanty remains of a villa; and a little further to the S. the construction of a bridge which carries the electric tramway to the Alban Hills over the main line to Naples led to the discovery of a fine white mosaic pavement, with geometric designs and figures in black: only about one-third of its length could be recovered,[1] as the rest lies under the main line; but the full width, 4·40 mètres, was

[1] The portion of the length recovered is about 1·70: in *Not. Scav.* owing to a misprint it is given as 0·23.

reached. An illustration is given in *Not. Scav.* 1905, 72; cf. *Bull. Com.* 1905, 266.

At the 4th kilomètre of the Via Tuscolana, near the Osteria del Galletto a cippus bearing the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 36414 was found in 1900 (Gatti in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1900, 404).

At this point the road described by Fabretti (*De Aquis*, 30) as leaving the Via Labicana just after Torre Pignattara, passing W. of the Monte del Grano, and falling into the Via Latina, should intersect the Via Tuscolana. I cannot say, however, that I have ever seen any traces of it (*Papers*, i. 224).

The Monte del Grano itself is a mound, until recently crowned by a tower, concealing a tomb, the exterior of which has long since disappeared. We find indeed that in April 1387 Giovanni Branca and Nicolao Valentini entered into a partnership, the former being allowed to convert the marble (called 'travertines' in the text of the document) blocks of the exterior of the Monte del Grano into lime, so long as the hill itself was not damaged (Not. N. de Vendettini in *Archivio Storico Capitolino*, prot. 785, cited by Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, i. 27, 40). In 1390 the latter definitely purchased the site.

The excavation of the chamber within the Monte del Grano must have taken place shortly before 1582. A large sarcophagus, with reliefs depicting scenes from the life of Achilles, was discovered; and in the sitting of May 4, 1582, we find that the Communal Council of Rome ordered that it should be examined by a commission, who should decide whether it ought to be acquired by the commune. The negotiations must have taken some time, for it did not find a place in the Palazzo dei Conservatori until 1590 (Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, ii. 87).

The inscription recording this fact is published by Forcella, *Iscrizioni di Roma*, i. no. 91, from Valesio, *Iscrizioni e Memorie d' Antichità* (MS. in Archivio segreto Capitolino, Cred. xiv, tom. 39 f. 29), who states that it was 'nel cortile nel piedestallo che sostiene la cassa sepolcrale di Alessandro Severo e Giulia Mammea nel prospetto del cortile.' It runs as follows:—*S. P. Q. R. Monumenta sepulcralia Alexandri Severi imper. et Iuliae Mamee* (*sic*) *matris Sabinarum etiam raptu ob pacem de novo initam marmore insculpta ornataq*(*ue*) *in agro Fabritii Lazari extra portam Labienam* (*sic*) *reperta in Capitolium poni iussit. Achille Cybo M. Antonio Capriata Coss. Iulio Glorierio Alexandro Cafarellio Priore MDXC.* Vacca

(*mem.* 36) records the discovery as follows: '. . . at the place called the Monte del Grano, there was a great mass made of concrete. An excavator had the courage to break through it, and enter within, and then let himself down so far, that he found a great sarcophagus sculptured with the rape of the Sabines; and upon the cover there were two figures reclining, representing Alexander Severus and Iulia Mammaea his wife. Within some ashes were found. At present this sarcophagus is in the Capitol.' The oldest drawing of it is at Windsor (xii (xviii) ff. 83–85). It was transferred to the Capitoline Museum from the court of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, in 1720, when the Roma and the two barbarian kings were brought from the Cesi collection, according to Michaelis (*Röm. Mitt.* 1891, 57); in Cecconi, *Roma Sacra e Moderna* (1725), 4, it is described as being still in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, but perhaps wrongly. Pococke certainly saw it on the ground floor of the Capitoline Museum in 1731 (B.M. *Add. MS.* 22980, 60).

And we have other testimony that it was already in the Capitoline Museum in 1736 (Gaddi, *Roma Nobilitata*, 149). The figures on the lid of the sarcophagus do not as a fact represent Alexander Severus and Mammaea, though they belong to the beginning of the 3rd cent. A.D.

The so-called Portland Vase (now in the British Museum, *Catalogue of Gems*, no. 2312) was found within the sarcophagus, but apparently not at the time of its first discovery. Vacca states merely that ashes were found within it, and does not mention the vase, which he would surely have done; and it may be to this fact that the erroneous statement of many writers is due, that the sarcophagus itself was found in the time of Urban VIII.

A plan of the tomb is given by Fabretti (*de Aquis* (1788) Diss. i. tab. xv. and pp. 48 *seq.*): cf. also Piranesi, *Antichità Romane*, ii. tav. 31–35. The passage by which it is entered is of brickwork, which Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 345, considers to be of the period of Hadrian, and the chamber itself is circular.

A little before the fifth kilomètre a branch track runs off to the Casale del Quadraro: just behind the latter are rough walls of *opus incertum* crossing the road in a S.E. direction, and other debris. Here I found the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1527 (1st century A.D.).

In 1776 the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 22824 was found somewhere on the farm of Quadraro.

Excavations made here in 1780 by the engraver Volpato led to the

discovery of a number of waterpipes (*C.I.L.* xv. 7529 *L. Semproni Proculi c(larissimi) v(iri)*—Lanciani, *Syll.* 334 (following Borghesi, *Œuvres*, vi. 433) identifies this man with the celebrated lawyer of the time of Nero, but his name probably was not Sempronius—*Prosopographia*, iii. p. 100, no. 741,—nor would the title of *clarissimus vir* suit that period; 7534b, *Q. Servili Pudentis*—perhaps the son of the consul of 166 A.D. (cf. *Papers*, iii. 54); 7557; 7560?; 7631; 7684; 7685; 7700), also of several sculptures, enumerated by Riccy, *Pago Lemonio*, 123—a Venus, standing, a colossal head of Iulia Domna in the Rotunda of the Vatican (Helbig, *Führer*, i.^{2}, no. 316), Ganymede and the eagle (Museo Chiaramonti, 587, cf. Amelung, *Sculpturen des Vatik. Museums*), a torso of a boy, which passed into the hands of the sculptor Pacetti, the protecting goddess of the city of Antiocheia on the Orontes (Helbig, *ibid.* no. 382) and columns of 'bigio' and 'breccia corallina' marble 16 and 18 palms (about 4 mètres) high. The property belonged then to Prince Barberini, Prince of Palestrina—Visconti notes the waterpipes, however, as 'spettante all' eredità Zambini'—and as he notes *C.I.L.* xv. 7560 among these, it was very possibly found here also.

Nibby (*Analisi*, ii. 666) notes the discovery here in demolishing a modern wall in 1828 of fine terracotta reliefs representing the labours of Hercules, three of which were restored, and passed to the Etruscan Museum of the Vatican. These are in all probability those described by Helbig, ii.^{2} 1180, which, according to Braun, *Ruinen und Museen*, 831, were found at Roma Vecchia, and according to Abeken, *Mittelitalien*, 367^4, in the excavations of Canova on the Via Appia, in the other accounts of which they are not, however, mentioned (*C.I.L.* vi. 26426 and reff.).

On the right of the high road, in a pozzolana quarry just beyond the turning to Quadraro, is a drain cut in the rock, running as if to pass under the road at right angles. A little beyond the 5th kilomètre the road passes through a cutting which though widened in modern times may conceivably be of ancient origin; and a little further, on the right, is an ancient shaft with part of the travertine frame of the covering slab still preserved, communicating with underground cisterns or quarries.

V.—THE VIA LATINA FROM THE VIA APPIA NUOVA TO ROMA VECCHIA.

Immediately after crossing the Via Appia Nuova, we see a lofty mass of concrete—the core of a tomb—on a hill (point 50) to the N.E. of the road. Nearer the Via Latina the military road has cut through some ancient foundations, while on the right of the Via Latina is the concrete core of another tomb. Here, in 1900, a head of Socrates and some sepulchral inscriptions were discovered (*C.I.L.* vi. 34641, 34942, and a Greek inscription), also three fragments of lead water-pipes, one of which bore the inscriptions *A. Caecili Felicis* and (on the other side) . . . . *Demetrian*. . . Various fragments of sculptures were also found (Gatti in *Not. Scav.* 1900, 25). In *Bull. Com.* 1900, 225, Gatti conjectures that if *Demetrianus* were the owner of the pipe, he might be regarded as a younger member of the gens Anicia, to whom the property had descended from the virgin Anicia Demetrias, on whose estate the basilica of St. Stephen was built by Pope Leo I. These discoveries were made in the course of work for the improvement of the carriage way which follows the Via Latina from the Via Appia Nuova, and soon crosses the railway to Albano. In cutting this railway two middle bronzes, one of Antoninus Pius, one of Severus Alexander, were found at the ground level (Lanciani in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1890, 12); while the military road, which crosses the line just at this point, cuts, just before it does so, through the remains of a villa in *opus reticulatum* on its S.E. side, and a late burial, the body being covered with tiles, on its N.W. side.

To the S.E. of the railway we reach a group of tombs which, in its present condition at any rate, is the most interesting that can be found along the Via Latina—in some ways the most interesting in the neighbourhood of Rome. It includes two tombs with remarkably fine subterranean chambers, the roofs of which are decorated with well preserved reliefs in stucco. Of these, though the form of decoration was a common one, very few examples are still extant in a reasonably good state of preservation. The excavations were mainly carried on by Lorenzo Fortunati in 1857–58, and described by him in the *Relazione Generale degli Scavi e Scoperte fatte lungo la Via Latina*, Rome, 1859. The work has a general plan of the excavations, and it was intended to add to it a volume of 34 or more plates, with a text written by Garrucci;

the latter, however, never saw the light, so far as I know, though a prospectus regarding it was issued, according to which the plates were to be engraved by Bartoccini from drawings by Pietro Rosa, and were to be as follows: 1. Plan of the Basilica. 2. Section. 3. Two sarcophagi found there. 4. Capitals. 5. Frescoes from the Villa (?) 6–17. The two tombs with the stucco decorations. 18. A *columbarium* (plan 22?). 19–26. Thirteen sarcophagi (all mentioned by Benndorf-Schoene). 27. A frieze. 28. Four brackets ('mensole'). 29. Architectural fragments. 30. Six Bacchic herms. (Benndorf-Schoene 2–5.) 31. Four statues of Greek and Roman style. 32. Eight heads of persons, portraits, and gods, one of which had been pronounced a 'chef d'œuvre.' 33. A fine tripod base with basreliefs representing a sacrifice, and a cippus, also with basreliefs. (Benndorf-Schoene 7.) 34. Four nude torsos of small statues, two of which were of surprisingly fine work. The price was to have been ten scudi. A general account of the sculptures is given by Benndorf-Schoene, *Ant. Bildwerke des Lateranischen Museums*, pp. 241 *seq.* Many of the objects passed into that museum by purchase by the Papal government, the rest were sold and are in various places—several in the Palazzo Massimi. Reference may also be made to the articles of Henzen in *Bull. Inst.* 1857, 177 *seq.*; 1858, 17 *seq.*; 36 *seq.*; Brunn, *ibid.* 1858, 81 *seq.*; Petersen in *Ann. Inst.* 1860, 348; 1861, 190 *seq.*; 1862, 161 *seq.*

The use of Fortunati's book may be facilitated materially, or its absence compensated for (as the case may be) by the addition of an index (which will be found in the appendix, *infra*, 154), in which the references in the *Corpus* to the inscriptions and brickstamps, as published by him, are given. This might, and probably would not have been necessary, if his copies of the inscriptions and brickstamps were more trustworthy; but it has often been difficult to find out what he was really copying, and the want is therefore, it seems to me, worth supplying. A few blanks there are, which I have not been able to fill—the third volume of the *Inscriptiones Christianae* is not yet issued—and there are probably one or two more which I might have been able to fill with further search. The inscriptions as a whole are unimportant and of the ordinary sepulchral type; but, with the help of the appendix and of the references I have given, those who desire to form an idea of what is after all one of the best described and best preserved groups of tombs in the neighbourhood of Rome might do worse than study the work of Fortunati.

In this locality, which formed at that time a part of the tenuta of the Annunziata, excavations were made by Giuseppe Pellone in the time of Pietro Sante Bartoli, and a number of tombs discovered along the sides of the road, with mosaic pavements, paintings, statues, inscriptions, sarcophagi, urns, etc. One 'tempietto' contained statues of a husband in 'abito consolare' and his wife as Ceres, with an altar between them. They lay so close, as Bartoli says, as hardly to allow of an approach to the surrounding country. In the time of Innocent X a column of oriental alabaster was discovered, and taken from the chapter of the Lateran by force. Alexander VII gave it them back, and they presented it to him. It was placed in the Vatican Library. (Bartoli in *Roma Antica* 1741, 335, 341 = *mem.* 91, 92 in Fea, *misc.* I. ccxlvii.) *C.I.L.* vi. 8646 was copied at the Arco Travertino by Malvasia (circ. 1690) and noted by Fabretti (about the same time) as 'in aedibus societatis SS. Annunciationis.' *Ibid.* 11010 (= i. 1021) is noted by the latter as in the tenuta of Arco Travertino three miles out on the right. Eschinardi (*Esposizione della Carta Topografica Cingolana dell' Agro Romano*, Rome, 1696, 406) noted the recent discovery of many tombs in the tenuta of Arco Travertino at the point where the Via Latina crossed the Via Appia Nuova, with the catacomb of S. Tertullinus below (*sic*). The name Arco Travertino (Tomassetti 40 *seq.*), belonging to the tenuta, no doubt refers to the remains of the aqueducts—possibly to the arch (of which no remains exist) by which the Aqua Claudia crossed the Via Latina at the fourth mile.

Ligorio (*Cod. Bodl. Canonici Ital.* 138, f. 80^{r}) has plans of three reservoirs on the Via Latina, which I have not identified: they are, perhaps, however, to be sought near Tor Fiscale. All are said to have been for rain-water. Two have one long chamber with a short one at the end, and the third a single chamber. *Ibid.* 109^{r} is a plan and drawing of a brick tomb about 2 miles or a little more from Rome on the Via Latina, which was, he remarks, much ruined: it was clear, however, that the tympanum was rounded. The elevation shows it to have been in two stories: the inner chamber was 15 palms wide and 14 deep, and the porch 8 deep. Plans of two other smaller tombs, much ruined, are also given: one was 14 feet deep, with a curved niche 4 feet in diameter at the end, and three rectangular ones on each side, that in the centre being 4 feet wide and those on each side of it $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The other was 6 feet wide by 10 deep, with a barrel vault, a square niche opposite the door, and four smaller niches on

each side. 110^{v} gives yet another tomb plan. On 109^{v}, 110^{r} is a drawing of a tomb, which Lanciani identifies with the so-called 'sepolcro Barberini' (*infra*, 60). To this tomb Ligorio attributes fragments of two different inscriptions—of the first there only remained the letters . . . RVM, while the second purported to be a fragment of one containing the *cursus honorum* of a certain Q. Cornelius. The last letter of the first inscription was seen by Nibby (*infra*, 60), but the second is either wholly or in part due to the ingenuity of Ligorio (Lanciani, *Bull. Inst.* 1874, 108.). The whole is taken to be a forgery by Hülsen, *C.I.L.* vi. 1712*. 115^{r} gives the plan and sketch of the interior of a tomb 22 feet square with three niches in each wall, the central one curved, the others rectangular: there were remains of decorations in stucco. 118^{r} gives a sketch of another tomb built of peperino blocks, measuring roughly 20 by 14 feet, and preserved to a height of about 35 feet: it had a rectangular base, faced perhaps with marble: above this were six pilasters of brick on one side and four on the other, and above them again another story. On f. 143^{r} are a plan and sketch of a tomb on the left of the Via Latina, probably that near the crossing of the railway, and on 143^{v} plans and sketches of two other tombs on the same road—now much ruined.

These tombs I have not as yet been able to identify with remains now existing; and the same has been the case with those drawn by the later hand in the book of drawings attributed to Andreas Coner (nos. 27–30: see *Papers*, ii. p. 27), and with that drawn by Salvestro Peruzzi as near the aqueduct of the Aqua Iulia (*Uffizi*, 666). There are also a number of drawings of tombs on the Via Latina at about 2 miles from Rome in volume A^{12} (no. xv. in Michaelis' list in *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 717 *seq.*), some of which refer to this group of tombs (*infra*, 67, 71), while others I have not yet identified. They seem also to have interested Cassiano dal Pozzo, who (apud Schreiber *Unedirte Römische Fundberichte*, from *Sächsische Berichte*, 1885, 38, no. 59) notes that his artist is to copy three or four 'tempietti' (the name given to these brick tombs from their shape) with care, and a piece of the Claudian aqueduct.

On the right of the road is a square mass of concrete, the foundation of a tomb (marked H and 14 on Fortunati's plan). Immediately beyond this and a little way back from the road were found the ruins of a house at a considerable depth (no. 14*a–e* on plan), in which were found fragments of sculpture, including a headless statuette of Hypnos (?) (Benndorf-Schoene,

no. 36). Beyond this again were chambers, some of them columbaria (nos. 15–18 on plan) of no special interest. One contained a small marble group with a representation of the Nile (Benndorf-Schoene, 35), another reached by a staircase of 18 steps contained two fragments of sarcophagi (p. 45, nos. 42, 43). Near another were found the inscriptions nos. 44, 45. The brickstamps found 'in tale località' (whether the reference is to the house only or not, is not quite clear) were nos. 57–62 (p. 46).

A little way beyond no. 18 stands (O on Fortunati's plan), the so-called 'sepolcro Barberini,' a brick tomb with two stories, still preserved above the ground level, and a subterranean chamber, now buried, in which was found the sarcophagus of Protesilaus and Laodamia now in the Galleria dei Candelabri at the Vatican (no. 113), (*Cod. Pigh.* 210, cf. *Sächs. Ber.* 1868, 223; Bartoli, *Antichi Sepolcri*, 53–56; *Admiranda*, 75–77; Helbig, *Führer* i.[2] 405). Ficoroni, *Vestigia di Roma Antica*, 167, identified it—wrongly—with the temple of Fortuna Muliebris (*infra*, 79). Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 589) in refuting his view, states that there was in his time visible the last letter of the original inscription (an M), which was in one line only (*supra*, 59).

For some distance beyond this tomb Fortunati's excavations were confined to the left of the road (plan nos. 19–33). The inscriptions found among these tombs and catacombs were nos. 46–66 (pp. 47–53). Among the tombs was a subterranean columbarium with 32 urns, the walls decorated with painted stucco (plan 22): in three larger niches there were peperino sarcophagi, at the bottom of one of which was found the inscription no. 51: close by was found a sarcophagus with a relief representing Bacchus crowned by a Genius (not mentioned by Benndorf-Schoene). Further on (nos. 25–26 on plan) a small catacomb (apparently) was found, with the brickstamp no. 63 in one of its *loculi* (p. 49). Still further on was found the inscription no. 54 (*C.I.L.* vi. 10221) on a fragment of a sarcophagus: it gives the name of a boy of four years old, who belonged to the *conlegium aeneatorum frumento publico*, which, taken together with *ibid.* 10220, indicates that the members of the guild of players on brass instruments enjoyed in imperial times the privilege of receiving their share in the free distribution of corn (Kubitschek in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, i. 595). In another small catacomb (no. 30 on plan) was found the inscription no. 62 (p. 52)—the interpretation of which is somewhat doubtful—painted on an *arcosolium*, and the brickstamp no. 67 (p. 52). Here may

be noticed the large *crepido* or edging to the road, of blocks of tufa two Roman feet high and wide.

From this point onwards we find that Fortunati's excavations occurred on the right hand of the road once more (plan 5–12). Here were discovered the remains of extensive buildings, used mainly for sepulchral purposes, but containing also some baths and a large reservoir 19 mètres long (plan 7). In one of these chambers (plan 6) were found two sarcophagi (Benndorf-Schoene, p. 243, nos. 31, 32—now in the Laterán, nos. 408, 404—for the former cf. *Ann. Inst.* 1863, 372). The only inscription found was no. 37 and the brickstamps nos. 45–55. In others further N.W. (plan 12, 13) were found the inscriptions 38–41 [1] (p. 43), fragments of sarcophagi, and a gold ring (Benndorf-Schoene, nos. 33, 34). The most prominent building of the group is now a brick tomb, the upper part of which is entirely new, (plan 10, 11). The lower story reached by two flights of steps consists of two chambers, in the first of which was found a large sarcophagus (Benndorf-Schoene, no. 37). The second (inner) chamber contained the fragments of three more sarcophagi (Benndorf-Schoene, 38–40) and twelve skeletons, the latter lying loose among the rubbish. The barrel vault of the inner chamber is decorated with fine reliefs in white stucco, with figures in squares and circles. A full description with illustrations is given in *Ann. Inst.* 1860, 384 *seq.* A brickstamp from an already ruined part of the vault (*C.I.L.* xv. 1368. 11) belonged to the year 159 A.D. The tomb has (for no adequate reason, no inscriptions having been found in it) acquired the name of the tomb of the Valerii.

Operations for removing the damp from this tomb led to the discovery of a wall constructed almost entirely with fragments of terracotta friezes, of which about 100 pieces were found (*Not. Scav.* 1879, 142). Whether it was from this place or another that the 268 fragments bought by the Municipal Archaeological Commission in 1885 came, is doubtful—almost certainly not, however, as this site has been Government property since 1870. These were said to have been found about 1875 near the second mile of the Via Appia Nuova, and belonged to the pediment of a temple, a figure of Jupiter with the thunderbolt in his right hand being recognizable (*Bull. Com.* 1885, 219, no. 22 b; 1886, 205). In 1897 or 1898 (I photographed them in April of the latter year) two mosaic pavements were

[1] Two of these were of the *gens Fabia*: several more belonging to this *gens* were among the inscriptions found in the villa (nos. 2–26). For no. 41 cf. *supra*, 33.

laid bare behind and at the side of this tomb, only a little below the modern ground level, both with geometrical patterns in black on a white ground. I can find no allusion to them in the official reports.

Beyond this group is a fine brick tomb in two stories (E in Fortunati's plan) which was not explored, and close by were the entrances to two small catacombs, in one of which was found a spur, appropriated, however, by a visitor, almost immediately after its discovery (*Relazione*, p. 38). Here were found the inscriptions 34–36.

Almost opposite the so-called Tomb of the Valerii the foundations of a large circular tomb with chambers all round the base (plan 34) were excavated, but nothing of interest was found. Close to it were discovered the inscriptions 67–70 (p. 54); while the group of brickstamps 65–74 (p. 55) belongs to the entire line of tombs 19–35, not having been more minutely classified. Next came (plan no. 36–39) the tomb of the Pancratii—the name being, not that of a family, but that of the burial club which owned the tomb. At the ground level is a mosaic pavement in black and white with representations of marine monsters. The walls are of *opus reticulatum*. A staircase leads to two subterranean chambers: the first of these has very fine decorations in stucco, the colouring of which is still well preserved (*Ann. Inst.* 1861, 190 *seq.*). It was lighted by nine lamps, of which only the central one was discovered: it was preserved in the library of the Palazzo Barberini, but what became of it when the library was sold to the Vatican I do not know. (This at least is the statement of Benndorf-Schoene p. 244: Fortunati, p. 58, mentions the finding of the hook by which it hung, but not of the lamp itself.) It still contains a colossal undecorated sarcophagus, but seven others were found in it, lying in confusion all round the large sarcophagus (Benndorf-Schoene 40[b]–47). The second chamber also contained paintings, but of less importance (Fortunati p. 59). It appears to be a later addition. In it were found six sarcophagi (Benndorf-Schoene 48, 49, 50, 60, 61 and a small one noted by Fortunati). The first two were inscribed: the second inscription ended *Pancrati hic*, which is explained by the discovery of a tablet bearing the word *Pancratiorum* (the name of the burial club which owned the tomb), which had been let into the mouth of the lightshaft (Fortunati nos. 76–78). A fragment of a marble tablet formerly in the Museo Kircheriano and now in the Museo delle Terme bearing the same word, the provenance of which is unknown (*C.I.L.* vi. 10280), perhaps

came from another part of the same tomb. In the last sarcophagus were found remains of gold thread, as if from cloth of gold. The pavement of the chamber was of mosaic, and in one corner was found a well about 20 mètres deep, in which was nothing of interest but the fragmentary inscription no. 74

Close to this tomb another small catacomb was found: it had one passage only, containing about 40 loculi; in it were found a small copper 'caldaio,' or warming pan, one palm (0·223 m.) in diameter, identical with the 'scaldaletto' exhibited by Brunn at the Institute on March 24, 1865 (*Bull. Inst.* 1865, 87), and also a copper strainer (Benndorf-Schoene, 62, 63). In a chamber close by (Plan, 39) was found a seated female statue, which was restored as Agrippina and sold by Castellani (*ibid.* 64).

In the space between the road and the solidly built brick boundary walls of the villa (nos. 40, 40′ on plan) a number of sepulchral inscriptions (Fortunati pp. 62 *seq.*, nos. 75–90) and brickstamps (*ibid.* nos. 76–83) were found. Close by was another small catacomb (making the ninth in all), in which were found the brickstamps *ib.* 84–89 (87–89 are figured stamps, the first, four times repeated, consisting of four concentric circles round a hole in the centre—for which cf. *Supplementary Papers of the American School at Rome* i. p. 77, list no. 390—while the other two are otherwise unknown to me). Here was also found the inscription no. 91 (*C.I.L.* vi. 29963, relating to the dimensions of a tomb—no doubt, therefore, removed from its original place).

A little further on were found other remains of tombs, with fragments of sarcophagi, the inscriptions 92–100, and the brickstamps 90–93 (plan 43).

A little beyond again beneath the limits of the villa (?) was a subterranean chamber, reached by a brick stair of 21 steps, in which were fragments of sarcophagi and a large cippus with an inscription of L. Calpurnius Daphnus, *argentarius macelli magni* (*C.I.L.* vi. 9183, Benndorf-Schoene 65, 66, Matz-Duhn, 3880) and several other inscriptions, many of them belonging to the *gens Calpurnia* (Fortunati 101–115), also the stamps 94–97—no. 94 in a small catacomb[1] (the tenth in all) to the right of the sepulchral chamber.

[1] It is a question which has not yet been solved to what extent these ten Christian 'cemeteries' may have been originally interconnected.

On the left, behind this line of tombs, extended the remains of a large building which was taken to be a villa (though the plan is quite abnormal), constructed of brickwork, the stamps dating from the 1st century A.D. to the time of Caracalla (the majority being of the reign of Hadrian) with an isolated example belonging to the Christian period (Fortunati, pp. 7–9, nos. 1–32). A plan of it is given in the general plan annexed to the *Relazione*, a reproduction of which will be found in Murray's *Handbook for Rome* (p. 416 of the 1899 edition). Its remains are now covered up, but the Christian basilica of S. Stephen, which was built into a part of it, has been left open, and is still visible. To the N.W. of it is a reservoir (C on Fortunati's plan), and to the N.W. of that again, and almost opposite to the 'sepolcro Barberini' (*supra*, 60), an isolated mass of concrete, with niches in it—no doubt a tomb lying back from the road.

The sculpture and fragments found in the main building are given by Benndorf-Schoene, nos. 1–25 (no. 25 = Matz-Duhn, 3615). With them were found many sepulchral inscriptions, which had probably been collected there to be burnt into lime (Fortunati, pp. 4 *seq.*, nos. 2–20, 24–26, cf. p. 10). The lead pipes *C.I.L.* xv. 7334 c (*Valerius Primitivus fecit*), 7535 (*M. Servili Silani*—probably the man who was consul in 188 for the second time, *Prosopographia* iii. p. 228, no. 428), 7561 (*Valeria C. f. Paullina*, for whom cf. *ibid.* 7850—the inscription on a pipe found in the Vigna Zoffoli, which gives the name of C. Valerius Paulinus, no doubt a lineal relation of this woman—*infra*, 152), 7732 MAKPOICIN) were also discovered in this villa. The date at which Valeria Paullina owned the villa is quite uncertain: but inasmuch as Valerius Primitivus occurs (7334 a) as a *plumbarius* of the emperor Alexander Severus, we may perhaps infer that the building had by that time become imperial property, while Servilius Silanus seems to have been its possessor in the last quarter of the second century A.D. Some iron objects were also found—agricultural implements for the most part, and a lance (*Relazione*, 10). Considerable traces of fire were found throughout the building.

In the basilica of S. Stephen were found two sarcophagi *in situ* (Benndorf-Schoene, nos. 26, 27) and other fragments of sculpture (*ibid.* 28–30) under a heap of fragments of architecture, also the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 1680 (Fortunati, no. 27) *Sex. Anicio Paulino Procos. Africae bis cos. Praef. Urb.* (the latter office he held in 331 A.D.) in use as part of the material of a later tomb, also the Christian inscriptions, Fortunati, pp. 14 *seq.*

nos. 28–31, 33 and the inscription recording the foundation of the basilica by Leo I, at the dying wish of Demetrias, perhaps the daughter of Anicius Olybrius (consul 395 A.D.). Several brickstamps (Fortunati, p. 18, nos. 33–44) were also found. For further details reference may be made to Tomassetti, 42 *seq.*; Marucchi, *Catacombe*, 256, and *Bull. Crist.* 1896, 158.[1]

Behind the basilica (plan no. 9) was found the sepulchral inscription *I.G.* xiv. 2127 (cf. *Bull. Inst.* 1858, 160), a fragment of a poem celebrating the virtues of the deceased, whose name is missing. Among the objects probably found here, though not mentioned by Fortunati, is a sarcophagus in the Palazzo Massimi with the representation of the myth of Pelops and Oenomaus (Matz-Duhn, 2908).

A bust (the head of which is lost) bearing the inscription M. Aemilius Lepidi l(ibertus) Neoptolemus (*C.I.L.* vi. 11092) now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori was probably found by Fortunati in 1857, though there is no mention of it in his account. Other inscriptions found in the same excavations, which do not appear in Fortunati's *Relazione*, are *C.I.L.* vi. 13343 (Matz-Duhn 2564—a sarcophagus with Corinthian pilasters at the angles), 16092, 17294, 17964, 20225, 22026, 23652, 25114. They are mostly noted in the records of the Papal Ministry of Public Works and Commerce, which have been excerpted for the *Corpus*. 18836, 30489 were also found here together—it is not stated by whom or exactly when, but in the latter half of the 19th cent.; and the same applies to 20430, 22493.

Aldrovandi (*Le Statue di Roma*, pp. 263–265) describes in the house of Domenico Capotio (Capocci) at the upper end of the Piazza Sciarra,[2] a large number of ancient heads, of which no less than sixteen are separately described—a Jupiter with the breast bare, Junius Brutus with half the bust, two heads of Augustus, a head of Macrinus, two heads of priests, heads of Antinous, of Hadrian, of Septimius Severus, of Cleopatra, of a youthful Heracles, of Julia Mammaea, two heads of Apollo (one with garlands), a head of Venus, a 'testa di maniera,' *i.e.* an imaginary subject. There were also statues of Athena (draped), a headless Diana ('vestita alla Moresca'), a Priapus almost entire, a Bacchus reclining on a wineskin, two double herms, a *horologium solare*, etc., and various fragments of sculpture, all of

[1] It is interesting to note that a bird's-eye view of Rome of the 13th cent. (in *Cod. Vat.* 1960) shows the basilica as still existing (De Rossi, *Piante*, tav. i. p. 84).

[2] An inscription copied there in the 16th cent. is given as *in domo Dom. Capocci in septis e regione palatii Ducis Urbinatis* (*C.I.L.* vi. 9544). Ligorio gives it as from the Via Latina.

which were found in a vineyard belonging to the same owner, near the aqueducts ('forme') outside the Porta S. Giovanni, in a place called Basiliolo.

Reinach in his translation of Aldrovandi's work, which he published with the text to the *Album de Pierre Jacques*, does not attempt to identify any of these sculptures: and Tomassetti (p. 38, n.) wrongly identifies the locality called the Basiliolo with the neighbourhood of the intersection of the Via Appia Nuova and the Via Latina, whereas the mention of the aqueducts makes it clear that it should be looked for either along the Via Tuscolana or near the Tor Fiscale—possibly indeed at or near the basilica of S. Stephen, if 'basiliolum' can be treated as having any connexion with 'basilica.'

Immediately beyond the limits of the Government property, which extends as far as the end of the excavations made by Fortunati in 1857–8, and between this and the site of the excavations made by Fortunati in 1875–6 in what was then the Silvestrelli property (and later passed into the hands of the Moroni family—see below) Alessandro Moroni excavated in 1895 along the line of the Via Latina (cf. Borsari in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1895, 103 *seq.*). Four trial pits were made—the first, only 10 mètres from the boundary of the Government property, led to the discovery of the pavement of the road, 55 cm. below the modern level, and of part of its *crepido* on the right. The second excavation was made further to the S.E. on the left of the road: about ten *loculi*, cut in the tufa, about 2 mètres below the modern ground level, and roofed with tiles, were found: in the stratum of earth above them were found two inscriptions—one a fragment of a Greek sepulchral inscription, the other, part of a sepulchral inscription erected to an *archigallus Tus(culanorum)* by his wife (*C.I.L.* vi. 32466). The third excavation, on the left, led to the discovery of the foundations of a large tomb, much destroyed, and of four tombs roofed with tiles, similar to those already described, while the fourth was made between the two casali of the vineyard (*infra*, 69).

In 1884, in a pozzolana quarry on the Moroni property, a tomb was casually discovered: it was a chamber 3 by 2·50 mètres and contained a peperino sarcophagus *in situ*, on each side of which a terracotta cinerary vase was built into the wall of the tomb. No inscriptions were, however, discovered, as the tomb had already been opened (*Not. Scav.* 1884, 425). In 1886, in a pozzolana quarry made by Signor Belardi, in the tenuta of Arco

Travertino near the basilica of S. Stephen, the following sepulchral inscriptions were discovered, *C.I.L.* vi. 34410, 34723 (Lanciani in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1886, 23), and in 1889 three others were found there, *ibid.* 30490, 34687, 36271 (Borsari, *Notizie cit.* 1889, 226).

Turning to examine what is now visible, we find first of all traces of foundations: then a brick tomb on the N.E. side of the road. It is in two stories: both the chambers have quadripartite vaulting, the upper one having brick columns 0·30 mètre in diameter in each angle, standing on square pedestals 0·30 high. The pavement of the road is here three feet below ground level. On its S.W. side are considerable remains of concrete foundations. A collapse of the roof of an extensive pozzolana pit in October, 1906 (perhaps that just referred to), led to the fall of a modern house which had been built on to it: the chasm which was formed has since been filled, and the tomb does not now appear to be in danger. It is probably this tomb which is represented in a drawing made in or about 1570 by a Spanish artist in *Cod. Windsor*, A. 12 f. 11^{r} (the elevation of the interior and plans at the upper and lower levels are given): a plan is also given in the sketchbook of Bramantino f. lix (published in facsimile by Mongeri, *Il Codice di Bramantino nell' Ambrosiana*). In a note to the first drawing it is described as outside the Porta Latina, two miles from Rome on the road to Marino, near the aqueducts, and the decorative architecture is said to be of the Composite order.

On the left of the road, a little further on, is a large brick tomb now used as a barn: it measures 8 mètres along the front, and 9·95 mètres in depth (external measurements). There are a considerable number of niches in the interior, and the stucco decorations must have been fine: the roof was a barrel vault with coffering.

Excavations opposite to this building in 1875–6 led to the discovery of scanty remains of tombs which had been much destroyed owing to the small difference between the ancient and modern level. Some rough pavements of mosaic were found, and fragments of sculpture, including the head of a young Faun:[1] also the inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 9388, 11087, 11998 (*monimentum circumdatum maceria cum protecto et area pertinet ad libertos et familiam Antoni Isocrysi*, where *protectum* means a small projecting roof or verandah), 20933, and the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 159. 10 (Severus).

[1] This with the other fragments of sculpture found was presented to the municipal collections (*Bull. Com.* 1879, 242, nos. 11, 12; 243, nos. 8, 9; 245, nos. 2–4).

See Stevenson's careful and detailed description in *Bull. Inst.* 1876, 193, 194 (cf. plan on p. 195); cf. *Not. Scav.* 1876, 44, 58, 74, and his remarks on a very large Christian sarcophagus, with a representation of a woman in prayer, found in fragments, in *Bull. Crist.* 1877, 48.

Further along the road, still on the left, *C.I.L.* vi. 10823 (on a fragment of a sarcophagus), 13061 (an inscription cut upon the reverse of a large marble pilaster capital, mentioning *taberna et aedificium et area maceria circumclusa tutelae sepulturaeque monumenti causa facta, quae heredem non seque(n)tur*), 30028, were discovered in 1875 (Stevenson, *Bull. Inst.* 1875, 225): *ibid.* 19625, a fragment of a large epistyle with fine lettering, was also found in this year; and also a block of travertine with the quarry mark XXVIII.

The continuation of the work in the next year led to the finding of other tombs, decorated in many cases with inferior paintings. The largest of them had an entrance with a column on each side, the bases of which were still *in situ* (Q on the plan in *Bull. Inst.* 1876, 195). Near this lying on the pavement of the road was found the fragmentary inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 8513:

deustum huius her[oi (?) ad nos]
pertinentem restit[uimus]
quod fuerat Ulpi Ses[. . . . quon]-
dam proc(uratoris) Kastren[sis]
a census bonae mema[. . . . .]
quodque ad nos per g[radus]
hereditarios perv[enit]
Eusebioru[m]

The reference is obviously to some part of a tomb (heroon ?) which had been destroyed by fire and restored: it had belonged to Ulpius Ses(. . . .) and had then passed by descent to its present owners, a burial club (*collegium*), whose members had assumed the name of the Eusebii (De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, iii. 37).

A little further, on the same side, was discovered a waterpipe (*C.I.L.* xv. 7665 *Serveus Felicianus o(fficinator) (sc. fecit)*): and further on again was found a large tomb (H on plan) rather older than the rest, consisting of a rectangular underground chamber of masses of sperone, with niches for urns in the walls, which were covered with plain stucco. Above it were

walls starting from a central ring like the spokes of a wheel, intended to support either the superstructure, or the mound of earth, with which the top of it may have been covered. The entrance was from the back, as usual, and led to an area 4·40 mètres below the road level. In the centre of this area was found, still *in situ*, a small altar of marble (*Not. Scav.* 1876, 58 says travertine) with the inscription *Dis Parentibus Sacrum*, *C.I.L.* vi. 29852 a. This was covered up in later times, and above it were built other sepulchral chambers, as also on each side of it towards the road (K-P on plan). This group is close to the modern casale (now Fattoria Rampa) which is built upon an ancient cistern of *opus reticulatum* and brickwork mixed with projecting buttresses, and is therefore wrongly shown by Stevenson as being actually on the line of the road.

Opposite to it is a modern cowhouse, part of which is on the line of the road, under which tombs (not drawn in Stevenson's plan) were also found in 1876, and in one of them the cippus *C.I.L.* vi. 21889 *in situ*. Excavations made between the two in 1895 led to the discovery of remains of sepulchral buildings: among the walls lay the skeleton of a child, with a pair of gold earrings, and a small bronze of Antoninus Pius, with Felicitas standing, holding a spear in her right hand: also a piece of a curved cornice with a quarry mark on the back,[1] two fragments of inscriptions (*C.I.L.* vi. 36712) and two tiles bearing the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 551 d. (about 123 A.D.) 1394 (*Not. Scav.* 1895, 105). Further back from the road (some 30 mètres distant from it) on the left was found another tomb consisting of two chambers (F f on plan) the southwesternmost of which had a black and white mosaic pavement with the inscription *fecit sibi a solo domum aeternam* (*C.I.L.* vi. 29956). To the N.W. of this tomb was a well preserved group of baths with hypocausts in which all the essential parts of a bath for private use were present: here were found two statuettes of putti, a head of Harpocrates, and a fragment of an inscription used as building material (*C.I.L.* vi. 30491, 1), also an Aretine vase with the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 5407 a. 5.

Other inscriptions from the same site, the exact provenance of which is not given are, *C.I.L.* vi. 10792, 15474, 29355, 30014, 30491. (2). Nor are the exact sites of the discovery of the numerous brickstamps given.[2] A

[1] Tomassetti, 46 n. 1, noted another piece of carved cornice near the casale, but not later than in 1885.

[2] The list is as follows: *C.I.L.* xv. 155. 12 (Commodus); 159. 10 (Severus); 173. 2 (138 A.D.); 226. 8 (M. Aurelius); 323. 3 (Commodus or Severus); 404. 19 (Severus); 521 (Hadrian); 586. 3 (Hadrian); 595 b. 30 (Hadrian); 754 b. 22 (M. Aurelius); 764. 11 (Commodus or Severus);

bust of a boy, found in these excavations and considered to be Egyptian by C. L. Visconti, is published by him in *Bull. Com.* 1881, 53 and tav. ii.

Fortunati (*Relazione*, 1) states that he began his operations in October, 1857, with the discovery of a staircase of brickwork, which led to a catacomb about 8 mètres below the modern ground level, in the property of Benedetto Belardi, but that this was covered up again immediately. It was here that he discovered the *tabula lusoria* with the inscription *Latina gaudes* (*Bull. Inst.* 1857, 182; *Relazione*, p. 3, no. 1). The exact site of this catacomb has not hitherto been re-discovered, but apparently it lay to the S.E. of the site on which he made the rest of his excavations.

The sepulchral inscription *I.G.* xiv. 1571 is given as found about the third mile by Fabretti. Tomassetti (46 n. 1) also attributes to this part of the road the Christian inscription published by De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.* i. p. cxvi.

The name Tor Fiscale is not, according to Tomassetti (p. 47), a survival of the *Massa Fiscalis* mentioned in a document of Benedict X, which, in his opinion, refers to a place in the neighbourhood of Ferrara. He considers that it derives its name from a neighbouring vineyard belonging to the Papal government; and it is no doubt this vineyard that is spoken of as the 'vigna di Mons(ignore) Fiscale di Roma' (*i.e.* the vineyard of the official in charge of the Papal treasury) in which, in 1743, was found a marble sarcophagus, with the inscriptions of four persons, one of them an imperial slave *a manu*, another an imperial freedman *a rationibus* (*C.I.L.* vi. 8409). In the same vineyard were seen in the latter half of the nineteenth century *C.I.L.* vi. 14476, 22572, 30492: they do not seem to be part of the proceeds of the excavations of 1875–6.

The Tor Fiscale itself (called in the Staff Map the Torre dell' Acquedotto) is a mediaeval tower erected upon a crossing of two aqueducts, the arches of the Claudia passing over those of the Marcia (Tomassetti, 46; Parker, *Historical Photographs* 528–532, 689, 1028, 1029, 1439). There are considerable remains of a lofty building in *opus reticulatum* and brick, the nature of which is not altogether clear. Further S.E., immediately to the S.W. of the Aqua Marcia (the line of which is now followed by the Acqua Felice), are the remains of three *piscinae* at least

851. 6 (123 A.D.); 820. 1 (1st. cent.); 838. 4 (Antoninus Pius); 862. 9 (middle of 2nd cent.); 870 (Trajan); 1034. 2 (123 A.D.); 1100. 4 (90 A.D.); 1174 a. 4, b. 8 (134 A.D.); 1212 a. 7 (130 A.D.); 1222 (middle of 2nd. cent.).

(Lanciani, *Comentari, cit.* 300; Parker, *Historical Photographs*, 896); and a stream-bed close by cuts through a channel (possibly a reservoir, though unlined) running through the pozzolana: it is about 1·50 mètre wide, and the sides are partly covered with a very light (in weight) and dirty aqueduct deposit, about 0·10 mètre thick. It is surprising that they are not lined with cement to keep the water in.

Just to the N.W. of the Tor Fiscale the Via Latina passes to the N.E. of all the aqueducts, and a group of seven tombs belonging to it may be seen immediately to the N.E. of the Acqua Felice, all of them on the N.E. side of the road itself. One of these figures on the plan of Fabretti (*De Aquis*, Diss. I. tab. i) as the *templum Fortunae Muliebris*—an erroneous identification, of course. The first of them is a portion of a brick tomb, rectangular outside, but apparently semicircular, with a domed roof and (originally) three curved niches inside, the central one with a rounded, the other two with triangular pediments; the brickwork of the exterior is very fine, and remains of the decoration of one of the two windows still exist, giving the clue to the possible identification of this tomb with that drawn by an unknown Spanish artist in or about 1570. (*Cod. Windsor cit. supra*, f. 4, 4^{v}.) He gives the plan, elevation of the interior with its semidome, details of the window, etc., the last corresponding exactly to what is here preserved. But he describes it as the last tomb that is seen on the Via Latina, being situated near the aqueducts on the west—indications that do not agree with the position of this tomb, which is on the N.E. of the aqueducts, and is not the last tomb to be seen along the road.

The next tomb is square outside and round inside, faced with brickwork; the internal diameter is 7·2 mètres. The third is a building of *opus mixtum*, with an apse facing S.E.: the fourth a much ruined vaulted building with small niches, possibly part of a *columbarium*: further to the N.E. are the scanty ruins of a fifth, while the sixth tomb is a lofty building of brickwork, about 9 mètres square inside: below are niches (three on each side) alternately rectangular and semicircular, 1·23 mètre in width, between Doric columns, the architrave of which is still preserved; and above is a large barrel vault, with a window above the central niche on the N.E. side. A similar tomb is described and illustrated in *Cod. Windsor cit.* f. 11^{v} as being in this neighbourhood ('two miles from the Porta Latina, near the aqueducts and near Quadraro'); but there are certain differences—the construction is described as being of *opus mixtum*, the columns as being of

the Ionic order, and the vault as quadripartite, while from the plans its internal width seems to be only 25 palms (5·56 mètres), though the measurement of the niches (5 palms 57 minuti) is fairly close (about 1·31 instead of 1·23 mètre). The seventh and last of the group is a mere mass of debris: not far from it the loose pavingstones of the road may be seen.

The point at which the Goths in 539 formed an intrenched camp between the aqueducts is thus described by Procopius, *Bell. Goth.* ii. 3: *οἱ Γότθοι .... ἐφύλασσον ὅπως αὐτοῖς μηδὲν τοῦ λοιποῦ εἰσκομίζοιτο. ἐστὸν δὲ ἐς τόδε ὕδατος ὀχετὼ δύο μεταξὺ Λατίνης τε καὶ Ἀππίας ὁδοῦ, ὑψηλὼ ἐς ἄγαν, κυρτώμασί τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνεχομένω. τούτω δὴ τὼ ὀχετὼ ἐν χώρῳ διέχοντι Ῥώμης σταδίοις πεντήκοντα ξυμβάλλετόν τε ἀλλήλοιν καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν δι' ὀλίγου τρέπεσθον. ὁ γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν χώραν λαχὼν τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ τηνικαῦτα χωρεῖ φερόμενος τὰ εὐώνυμα. πάλιν δὲ ξυνιόντε καὶ χώραν τὴν προτέραν ἀπολαβόντε τὸ λοιπὸν διακέκρισθον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χῶρον τὸν μεταξὺ ὀχύρωμα ξυμβαίνει τὸ ἐκ τῶν ὀχετῶν περιβάλλεσθαι. τούτων δὲ τὰ κάτω κυρτώματα οἱ βάρβαροι λίθοις τε καὶ πηλῷ φράξαντες φρουρίου τε σχῆμα πεποίηνται κἀνταῦθα οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι φυλακὴν εἶχον τοῦ μηκέτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν πόλιν τι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐσκομίζεσθαι.* 'The Goths ... took measures that no infection (from the plague) should in future come to them from without. There still exist two aqueducts between the Via Latina and the Via Appia, very lofty, and for the most part carried on arches. These aqueducts, at a place distant from Rome fifty stadia, meet, and for a short distance run in the opposite direction, that which at first was on the right going to the left. They then meet again and take up their former positions, and for the rest of their course run separately; and thus it comes to pass that the space between is surrounded by the aqueducts as by the walls of a stronghold. The barbarians filling up the lower arches [*i.e.* the lower brick arches, two tiers of which were built inside the single arches of stone to strengthen them subsequently to their original construction] with stones and clay, gave the place the form of a fortress, and there encamping to the number of not less than 7000, kept guard so that the enemy might no longer be able to introduce any provisions into the city.'

A little further on we hear of *τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, ὅπερ ἄγχιστα ὁδοῦ τῆς Ἀππίας ἐφύλασσεν* and again it is called the camp *ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἀγχοῦ τῆς Ἀππίας ὁδοῦ ὕστατον, ὥσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται,*

γεγονὸς ἔτυχε (*ibid.* 4). It is also to be noted that a diploma of Sergius I (687) and a register of Gregory II speak of the *Campus Barbaricus Via Appia* and of certain farms as *iuxta Campum Barbaricum ex corpore patrimonii Appiae.* But despite the mention of the Via Appia (which is an error of description) there is no doubt as to the site of the barbarian camp (though Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana*, i. 50, and De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.* 1870, 126, before they had taken the passage of Procopius into account, placed it near the Via Appia). The rest of the description of Procopius fits so absolutely the space between the aqueducts immediately to the S.E. of Tor Fiscale (where the first crossing took place) up to the point where the line of the Aqua Claudia (which immediately to the S.E. of Tor Fiscale is marked by the Marrana Mariana, the arches themselves having been destroyed: see Lanciani, *Comentari di Frontino, cit.* 360) crosses for the second time that of the Marcia, that there can be no doubt as to the identification. The distance from Rome is incorrectly given—it is really a little less than four miles from the Porta Capena—about 30 stadia.

De Rossi (*Bull. Crist.* 1873, 95 *seq.*—p. 100 of the French translation; cf. *Roma Sott.* ii. 125) connects with the events of this period the existence of a cemetery discovered in 1853, between the fourth and fifth mile of the Appia Nuova. Several male skeletons were found buried in tombs of slabs of marble, the bodies having been clothed in rich draperies of purple and gold, and wrapped in bandages which appeared to have been stained with blood, while a sarcophagus, now in the Lateran, contained the skeleton of a woman dressed in cloth of gold, under the head of whom had been placed a sponge soaked in blood, the head itself having apparently been broken. The tombs had been covered with a pavement of slabs of marble, of which only the impression on the mortar was left. See also Tomassetti, *Via Latina*, 47, 52.

On June 10th, 1591, licence was given to one Pietro Bettani to dig for treasure at the place called *le forme* outside Porta S. Giovanni, and to excavate '*subterranea et lapides marmoreos Tiburtinos statuas ab extantibus edificijs et antiquitatibus spatio* 10 *cannar.*' Provvedimenti del Camerlengo 1590/91, c. 144, in the Archivio di Stato at Rome, quoted by Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 50. Cf. *supra*, 66.

At the fourth mile excavations were carried on in 1867, at which Kiessling noted the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 581, 7 (Hadrian), 593, 10

(Hadrian—several copies), 675, 9 (end of second or beginning of third century), 1828 (=573 or a variety—end of first or beginning of second century). No further particulars are, unfortunately, forthcoming, so that we do not know to what building these brickstamps belonged.

After this group of tombs we reach the ridge upon which runs the aqueduct that carried the Aquae Marcia, Tepula, and Iulia. Close by it is a downward shaft, faced with brickwork, 0·83 mètre square inside: it communicated with a *piscina*, a plan of which is given by Fabretti (*De Aquis* Diss. II. tab. xvi) and which appears to have been a clearing tank, probably for the Aqua Marcia itself, to judge from the character of the deposit on the sides of the shaft. The *piscina* is of selce concrete, and trapezoidal in shape: the external measurements (the well preserved interior is not accessible without a rope) are 6 mètres on the side towards the aqueduct (the S.), 7·3 mètres on the E. side, 7·8 on the W., and only 2·30 mètres on the N. side. In the roof is a lighthole, about 0·60 by 0·90 mètre; and in the centre of the N. side is a terracotta outlet pipe. Fabretti marks the beginnings of walls on his plan, as though there had been other chambers connected with it; but no traces of these are now visible; and the fact that the concrete has no regular facing may indicate that the reservoir was originally subterranean.

To the N.E. of the railway are the considerable ruins of a villa which bear the name 'Ruderi Le Vignacce' on the map. They are built of *opus reticulatum* and brick: the angles are generally formed of alternate courses of bricks and rectangular tufa quoins, as at Ostia, in the Forum at Pompeii, etc.; and this is also the case in places in the *piscina* of this villa (*infra*, 77). There are also many fragments of fine marbles. The vaulting is in some cases lightened by the inclusion of amphorae. I have been able to find no record of discoveries there, and they seem to be very little noticed in descriptions of the Campagna. The map gives a very fair idea of their arrangement: the ruins extend as far as point 59 on the N.W.: the principal buildings lay to the S.E. of this point, facing S.W. and N.W., with a courtyard in the angle between them; and there are a few small buildings nearer the railway, to the W. of the main body of the villa. A view from the S.W. is given on Pl. II., Fig. 2.

I have found there a very considerable number of brickstamps, of which I give a list. The majority bear the date 123, and almost all belong to the period of Hadrian, to which the construction of the villa may

therefore be fairly assigned. The number of different brickfields laid under contribution is remarkable. *C.I.L.* vi. 33—two fragments (123); 79—two copies, no points in the first line (123); 121—no points in the first line: this is no doubt the place to which Malvasia in giving this very stamp (*Aelia Laelia Crispis*, p. 173) alludes 'trans ductus aquarum ad III lap. villa Hadriani prope urbem credita, ubi plures:' 228 (125); 267 (123); 270 a (123); 272—two copies (123); 349—two copies[1] (124); 444 (123); 454 c—right hand portion (123); 553 (123) found in the large circular room; 563 *A* (?) (123); 583 b (Hadrian); 585 d (Hadrian); 595 b (about Hadrian); 604 a, c[2] (123); 692 (123); 704 b? (123); 801 (123); 883 a (middle of 1st. cent. A.D.); 934—found here also by Fabretti, *Inscriptiones*, 503, ix—*ad v. lapidem viae Latinae, extraxi ex parietinis ingentibus villae, quam Hadriani prope urbem vetus Latii charta indigetat* (123 A.D.); 1075 a—in a fieldwall to the S.E. of the ruins (which also contains blocks of peperino from the aqueduct and pavingstones from the Via Latina?); not therefore of absolutely certain provenance—(100–125 A.D); 1384 (123 A.D.); 1430—many copies, especially in the E. portion of the villa (127 A.D.). To these may be added the following fragments.

(1) ⌣ { Q SERV / TEPAI } { X PR Q SE / APR · E P }

perhaps fragments of the stamp of which *ibid.* 346 (123 A.D.) is also a part, which would thus read as a whole

⌣ EX PR Q SERV PVD NAEVI
APR · E PAET · COS (123 A.D.)

Part of the centre of the stamp is preserved in the second fragment, but the traces there are quite uncertain.

[1] One of these is thus

⌣ { SERV · PVDEN · T · NARN / GLAB · ET · TORQ · COS

The other (a fragment) has only the letters

⌣ { ENT NARN / Q COS

without any trace of points.

[2] Of the former I found six copies, of the latter, one complete one which confirms the reconstruction of Dressel.

(2) ⌣ a RRIÆ F adillae
p AETEA pr cos (123 A.D.)

a fragment which does not exactly correspond with any of the stamps of Arria Fadilla in *C.I.L.* xv. 69 *sqq.*

(3) □ A S I A t ii et aq
COS DE
ANIS · T

a fragment of 125 A.D.

(4) ◯ Q VARO COS · EX
IS (134 A.D.)

(5) ○ TVNATI perhaps a fragment of *ibid.* 1019 (about 120 A.D.).

(6) A fragment of a stamp in two lines with hollow letters which I cannot identify (123 A.D.).

R ET PAE COS
SSIMI

(7) ⌣ gLABRION///
///FIG///

a fragment of a stamp of 124 A.D.

(8) A///PAETI
/////////A

a fragment of a stamp of 123 A.D. (hollow letters).

Ligorio, *Neap.* xxxiv. 179, records that 'nella Via Latina presso le forme dell' acquedotti dove sono grandissimi ruderi d'una villa, furono trovati alcuni tegoloni . . . . con le presenti parole (*C.I.L.* xv. 479a. 6—123 A.D.) . . . dove sono state trovate bellissime statue da Messer Lorenzo Stalla (Astalli) . . . di cui hoggi è quel terreno.' The land still belonged to the Astalli in Fabretti's time (*De Aquis*, 1788, p. 112)[1] and he, in giving *ibid.* 1913, as found in the piscina (see below), adds in the explanation of the plan (Diss. II, tab. xv) 'plures sub hoc sigillo (*ex praediis Domitiae Lucillae Paetino et Aproniano cos.*[2]) in proximis ruderibus observavi. Unde

[1] The reference to nos. 27 and 28 should be to the map, Diss. I, tab. ii, not to tab. xvi. The first edition was published in 1693, but is somewhat rare. I therefore cite the second (1788).

[2] This description seems to correspond more closely than any other known stamp with *C.I.L.* xv. 1025, *Op. dol. ex pr. Dom. P. f. Lucillae | Paetino et Apron. | Cos.*, a stamp published by Marini from a copy in his possession, which, however, Dressel was unable to trace in the Vatican.

refectionem Hadriani .... et forsan ipsius hic prope urbem villam conjicio. Sed de his alibi.' In the text (p. 111) he speaks of the piscina thus: *ad ipsam Viam Latinam quae eo loci paullo post iv lapidem inter arcus Marciae & Claudiae procurrit*; *in fundo Dello Spedaletto, & prope rudera plurium aedificiorum*; *quae hodie ex quantitate vulgo le Cento Celle dicuntur, & nos ex loco, reliquias pagi Lemonii fuisse credimus, aliis integrior forte fortuna cisterna, & eam inter ac veterem Marciae ductum, puteus remansit.*

The *piscina* which served for the supply of this villa is well described and planned by Fabretti, *op. cit.* Diss. II, tab. xv (after p. 110). It is pentagonal in shape, and consists of two stories, the lower containing three chambers (the partition walls between which are now much ruined), of which that at the W. end served, according to Fabretti (though this does not seem to me to be a necessary supposition), merely to support the upper floor (having a window on what he calls its S. side, but really its W. end), while the other two were cisterns: the upper story was divided into four chambers, one large one in the middle, and three smaller ones. The construction is of concrete faced partly with brick and cubes of tufa, partly with *opus reticulatum*, partly with small rough pieces of tufa only: the arches have brick and tufa voussoirs alternating. Amphorae are used in the walls of the upper story to give greater lightness. The water came from the aqueduct of the Marcia (or Tepula or Iulia, inasmuch as the same arches carried all three aqueducts: though the deposit left by the water on the cement lining resembles that of the Marcia) by a vertical shaft, and entered the cistern at the bottom, the water rising through the floor of the central chamber of the lower story by an aperture not now visible. It then, according to Fabretti, who must have seen it in a better state of preservation, passed through the upper story, and returned to the aqueduct once more. His identification of it, however, with the filtering tank of the Aqua Marcia described by Frontinus will not hold good (Lanciani, *Comentari di Frontino, cit.* 293): the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1913 found *in situ* in the shaft in the roof of the central chamber belongs to 123 A.D. The water for the supply of the villa was, according to Fabretti, collected in the chamber at the E. end of the cistern. The exterior is decorated by niches on the sides towards the open country, but not on those towards the aqueducts. In the space fifteen feet (4·50 mètres) wide between it and the aqueduct ran a pathway, and this, to the W. of the piscina, was

flanked on the N. by a reticulatum wall, 0·65 mètre thick. On each side of, and somewhat further away from, the aqueduct ran a reticulatum wall, about 0·50 mètre thick. These two walls were not parallel to the aqueduct (though they were to one another) but ran a little E. of N., about 16 mètres apart. They came to light in digging a drainage ditch just to the W. of the piscina. Their purpose is quite uncertain, and their orientation, divergent from that of the other buildings adjacent, is curious; but it seems quite impossible to suppose that they belong to a period previous to the construction of the aqueduct. In the ditch was also found the top of a waterpipe in terracotta, bowl-shaped, about 0·12 mètre high, with a hole in the centre of the bottom, and three more disposed round this in the lower part of the circumference—no doubt intended to keep leaves and other solid matter out of the pipe.

Rather further to the S.E. are two piers, of small rectangular tufa blocks, with an occasional brick course and cornices in cut brick, which may be part of another supply taken direct from one of the aqueducts. The span of the arch between the two piers was 4·05 mètres: that nearest the aqueduct is 3·10 wide, the other 1·80: and the thickness of both is 1·80 mètre. The direction is from S. to N.

Other excavations made in this part of the tenuta in 1835 are according to Tomassetti (p. 46, n. 1) described by Bluhme (*Iter Italicum*, iv. 263).

In the excavations for the new Naples railway to the W. of the Ruderi delle Vignaccie, and 155 mètres to the N. of the Acqua Felice, foundations of walls, remains of pavements, some of herringbone brickwork, some of *opus signinum*, and some of aqueduct deposit, were found; also a well preserved sundial, and a few unimportant fragments in marble. Two fragments of inscriptions belonging to the tombs of the Via Latina were found (Lanciani in *Not. Scav.* 1890, 12; *C.I.L.* vi. 30493, 35839).

The construction of the new line to Naples led further to the discovery of the specus of the Anio Vetus (under the ridge upon which ran the aqueduct of the Marcia, followed by the Acqua Felice and the Marrana Mariana) which is still visible, though not mentioned in the official reports, of the piers of the Marcia, with a pair of its cippi bearing the number 103, and of the path, paved with fragments of aqueduct deposit, which followed it. Of the importance of these discoveries in

regard to the aqueducts I shall have occasion to speak when I deal, as I hope to do shortly, with the aqueducts comprehensively.

Halfway between this point and that where the Aqua Claudia is cut by the railway, the pavement of the Via Latina was found: it was 3·80 mètres in width, with a *crepido* and a narrow path of rammed earth. On the left was found a walled receptacle, for burials apparently—perhaps for several, one above the other, inasmuch as it was 1·80 mètre deep, 2·20 long, 0·50 wide. In it some forty fragments of a sarcophagus were found. A second walled space was found close by, and 4·40 mètres to the N.W. a travertine cippus *in situ* with the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 34915—where the discovery is wrongly attributed to the Via Tuscolana. Further on was a fragment of a sarcophagus with a Greek inscription.

On the right of the road were remains of a tomb or a temple—'Attic bases in marble, tiles and gutters also of marble, Ionic capitals, slabs of white and yellow marble, etc.' (Lanciani in *Not. Scav.* 1890, 116 *seq.*). It seems not at all impossible (Lanciani does not mention the possibility) that these fragments may have belonged to the *Templum Fortunae Muliebris*, which, as various authors tell us (Sextus Victor *de vir. illustr.* 19; Val. Max. i. 8. 4; v. 2. 1; Festus, p. 242 Müll.), stood at the fourth mile of the Via Latina. According to *Not. Scav.* 1882, 114, the remains were identified and re-examined in that year, 'at the point where the Aqua Claudia crosses the Via Latina,' which would correspond well enough with this point. Some tombs were also examined, and a fine statue of Diana, with a hound running by her, was discovered—Reinach, *Répertoire* ii. 313. 6 (?).

In February, 1831 'near the very lofty aqueduct of the Claudia and Anio Novus, where the Marrana passes, and near the casale of Roma Vecchia, to the left of the Albano road, a few paces behind the Osteria del Tavolato,'[1] Duke Giovanni Torlonia found the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 883 carved upon the fragments of an epistyle of white marble (Fea, *Acque*, 322; *Bull. Inst.* 1831, 38) which is now in the Tabularium. The first line runs *Livia (D)rusi f. uxs[or Caesaris Augusti . . .]* and this was the original inscription: two lines added later record a restoration by Severus and Caracalla *Impp. C[aes]s Severus et Anto[ninus Augg. et Geta nobilissimus Caesar]* | *et [Iulia] Aug. Mater Aug[g. . . restituerunt]*. Canina (*Ann. Inst.* 1854, 59), who with considerable probability refers this inscription

[1] In *Bull. cit.* this last indication is left out: but in any case the correspondence with the site of which we are speaking is very close.

to the temple, justly remarks that it is clear from the edge of the (spectator's) left hand fragment, which has a diagonal cutting, that it formed the angle of the portico; while a similar cutting on the right of the right hand fragment shows that there was there another joint, which can only have taken place over a column. He concludes therefore that there were four columns in the front, with an intercolumniation 2·60 mètres in width, and in this sense he reconstructs the temple in *Edifizi*, vi. tav. 75 (cf. v. p. 64). Tomassetti (p. 46, n. 1) is probably wrong in ascribing to the temple 'a brick wall at right angles to the aqueduct, a little beyond the osteria.'

More recently, in February, 1902, on the S.W. edge of the line, at this same point, the foundations of a *columbarium* of fine ornamental brickwork, about 7 mètres square, were laid bare: the door was on the N.E. Here I found the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 934 (123 A.D.). To the S.W. were some large blocks of travertine—two of them measuring 3·60 by 0·80 by 0·50 mètre. I also found in the brickwork which had been used to strengthen the Aqua Claudia at a right angle turn near this point, and which had recently fallen, the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 314 (Trajan), 697 (Plotina—2 copies), 1241 (end of 1st or beginning of 2nd cent. A.D.: my copy confirms Dressel's reading).

On the N.E. edge of the railway, just after it has crossed the line of the Via Latina (*i.e.* on the S.W. edge of the latter) is a small ruin in *opus reticulatum*, and two tombs; one is a circular structure, with three large niches in the interior, which is faced with brick and *opus reticulatum*, and two smaller round topped niches (perhaps for urns) on each side of the entrance; the other is more ruined. To the N.E. of the road is a reservoir of a single chamber inside, with buttresses outside, and a mediaeval tower on top. Across the Marrana Mariana are two foundations of tombs, and a series of chambers in line, possibly tombs also; and further to the S.E. (just beyond the branch road from the 6th kilomètre of the Via Tuscolana) a reservoir of *opus reticulatum* with two chambers. We now reach the Casale di Roma Vecchia,[1] which lies right on the line of the Via Latina; but

[1] The excavations of 1882 were continued later on in the same year and led to the discovery, 'between the Via Latina and the aqueduct of the Claudia' (we are not told whether they were still carried on to the N.W. of the Casale, but it seems probable), of a large and magnificent building of *opus reticulatum* and brickwork, belonging from its construction to the 1st cent. A.D. It had pavements of mosaic in black and white with figures and geometrical designs: some of the rooms were bathrooms, with their walls lined with hot-water pipes. A fine polychrome mosaic, 0·59 mètre square, representing two partridges holding a garland in their beaks, a small headless

before dealing with the antiquities preserved there, and with the many discoveries which have been made in the tenuta, it will be well to complete our survey of the district adjacent to the course of the Via Latina in the near neighbourhood of Rome by the study of the first portion of the (nameless) ancient road to Castrimoenium (Marino), which runs to the S.W. of, and more or less parallel to, the Via Latina. Of the Via Tuscolana which runs to the N.E of the Via Latina, we have already spoken (*supra*, 51 *sqq.*).

VI.—THE FIRST PART OF THE ROAD TO CASTRIMOENIUM (MARINO).

This ancient road leading, as will be shown later, from Rome direct to Castrimoenium (the modern Marino), is not mentioned by any ancient author, and its existence is not recognized by writers on the topography of the Campagna. It is indicated in a map of Jan. 24, 1557, which shows the attack of the Duke of Alva on Ostia; in that of Ameti (1693) and in that of Cingolani (1704) it is marked 'Strada di Marino,' but in neither of them as an ancient road; and more modern map-makers seem to have forgotten its existence.

It was, apparently, a branch road of the Via Latina, and its first portion is more or less identical with the modern Via Appia Nuova from the second milestone to the point just beyond the fourth, where from S.E. the latter turns due S. and goes to join the Via Appia Pignatelli (itself in all probability an ancient road), while the road to Castrimoenium keeps straight on.

To the right of it, a little beyond its divergence from the Via Latina, in the hill marked as 51 m. above sea-level, are five shafts, each about 1 mètre square, with footholes, which seem to be ancient. If this be so, the pozzolana pits below are themselves of ancient origin, though many of the workings are to be regarded as entirely modern. To the S. of these, above the military road, are the remains in *opus mixtum* of a small building,

equestrian statuette in marble 0·30 mètre high, a female head, the upper half of a statue of Marsyas, a statuette of a boy playing with a Silenus mask, two headless female statues, a fine bust of the young Marcus Aurelius, a double bearded herm, two heads of Janus, a portrait of a young man with beard and moustaches, a bust of a woman lacking the head, with cinerary urns and cippi without inscriptions, are enumerated as having been found. (Lanciani in *Not. Scav.* 1882, 271.) In a heap of debris to the N.W. of the Casale by the road I found the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 583 b (Hadrian).

and to the S. again this road cuts through remains of a villa, a *reticulatum* wall, a floor of concrete, and a drain (cf. *Not. Scav.* 1882, 66). On the left of the Via Appia Nuova, in an abandoned pozzolana pit behind the tomb of the Valerii (so-called) I found, lying loose with other debris, the unpublished stamp, ▭ MAVQ. The letters are hollow and of a fairly good period: I should be inclined to interpret *M. A(nni) V(eri) Q(uintiana)* (see *C.I.L.* xv. 453–455), which would put it at about 123 A.D.

In making the railway to Albano, opposite the 'halt' of Acqua Santa, remains of walls were brought to light, and also some amphorae, terracotta pipes, lamps, etc. (Lanciani in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1890, 12); while in a pozzolana quarry on the S.W. of the road, rather to the S.E. of the approach to Acqua Santa, within the area occupied by the links of the Rome Golf Club, close to the road, are remains of foundations in concrete.

The mineral spring of the Acqua Santa was apparently known to the Romans: Cassio, *Corso delle Acque* (Rome, 1757), ii. 44, speaks of the existence, on the hill above, of remains of ancient buildings, in which, before his time, remains of a well executed pavement were to be seen: Moretti, however (*Trattato Medico-fisico dell' Acqua Santa*, Rome, 1777, 6), speaks as though the mosaic had been still visible in his day.

Fabretti (*De Aquis*, Diss. I, tab. i., Diss. III, tab. i.) marks an aqueduct diverging from the Aqua Claudia, a little way to the S.E. of Tor Fiscale, and crossing the valley just above the Acqua Santa upon arches which he says (p. 158) were 400 paces long: it thence followed the left bank of the Almo until it reached the so-called Grotto of Egeria below S. Urbano. Of the arches there is now nothing to be seen: they are not shown by Ameti (1693) or Cingolani (1704), and their disappearance is remarkable considering the way in which they are described by so trustworthy an authority as Fabretti: *permanent enim adhuc rei vestigia, ex puteo ad caput ductus, numero* 19, *Tab. I., crusta undique oppleto, per quem aqua ad novum hunc ductum descendebat; ex arcubus, qui vallem prope fontem aquae Salutaris tractu pedum CCCC transmittunt, & ex specu eiusdem aquae, rursus inter ipsos pagi fines* [the *pagus ad Camoenas*, as he calls it, is the group of buildings in the Caffarella valley belonging to the Triopeion of Herodes Atticus] *etiam nunc in vinea Cortesia, conspicuo* (Diss. III. p. 158). The remains of the specus, however, have generally been attributed simply to the channel or channels which fed the so-called nymphaeum of Egeria, below S. Urbano alla Caffarella (Lanciani, *Comentari di Frontino cit.*,

227), though Parker (*Aqueducts*, p. 133) traced the specus beyond this point, opposite to the so-called temple of the Deus Rediculus, believing it to belong to the aqueduct which fed the Thermae of Commodus and of Severus, which he supposed—erroneously—to be a prolongation of that which supplied the Villa of the Quintilii on the Via Appia.

Just beyond the third milestone, at the bottom of the railway cutting, the pavement of a road was found in 1889, at about 4·50 mètres below the modern ground level, cutting the line of the railway at an angle of 18°, and running downhill from N.W. to S.E. It was 2·90 mètres in width and paved with rounded masses of soft lava (like the roads on the Lugari estate on the Via Appia) so that it probably belonged to a comparatively early period: on its N.E. side was a wall without mortar, roughly plastered. Another portion of the same road was said to have been found three years before in the pozzolana quarry of the Signori Pizzuti, between the turning for Acqua Santa and the Valle della Caffarella, though as the orientation of this piece is not given the statement may be incorrect. A fragment of a Greek sepulchral inscription and a tomb formed of tiles (one of which bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 131, belonging to 144–155 A.D., though the tomb itself was probably a good deal later) were also found, (Lanciani in *Not. Scav.* 1889, 366). This road must have been a *deverticulum* from the Via Latina, and perhaps was the actual Via Castrimoeniensis: the road found three years before would then have been a *deverticulum* from it. In the same cutting close to the disused station of Tavolato (still a railwayman's cottage) on the N.E. side of the line is a pier of *opus reticulatum* with tufa quoins about 2 mètres broad, possibly a pier of a branch aqueduct.

At Tavolato in a pozzolana quarry was found a sarcophagus without inscription, and many late burials, the bodies being covered with pent roofs which bore stamps of 123 A.D. (*Not. Scav.* 1884, 104). In the quarry to the N.E. of the road two rock-cut drains and a down-shaft are still visible. The brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 315. 11 (period of Hadrian) was noted as at il Tavolato by Agincourt (*Vat. MS.*, cited by Descemet).

To the E. of the Osteria del Tavolato is a wall of *opus reticulatum* crossing the valley, and further E. again, just S.W. of the break in the highest portion of the aqueduct of the Aqua Claudia, are the scanty remains of buildings of uncertain nature.

To the W. of the Osteria del Tavolato and to the S. of the Fosso dell'

Acqua Santa are the remains of a large reservoir, a single chamber without buttresses, in *reticulatum* outside and brick and tufa blocks inside. There are some traces of a villa a little way down the hill to the N. Close by this on the E. is a circular tomb with a cruciform chamber within, having the entrance on the N. and a domed roof over the crossing; and near it were part of a half column in tufa and some very large blocks.

Further to the S.S.W., a little to the N. of the 5th kilomètre of the Via Appia Pignatelli, debris of brick buildings may be noticed,[1] and to the E.N.E. of k. 6 of the same road, to the E. of the Via Appia Nuova, are the foundations of a reservoir (?). Some Christian tombs found in this neighbourhood, and referred by De Rossi to the period of the occupation of the space enclosed by the aqueducts at Tor Fiscale in 539 are described *supra*, 73.

At the point where the Albano railway crosses the fosso del Calice the pavement of the ancient road was obviously laid bare: its stones have been used to pave the bed of the stream under the bridge, and may also be seen in the field-walls. A little further on, 1500 m. S.E. of Tavolato, a line of terracotta piping was found running along the line of the railway for a distance of about 80 m. The internal diameter of the pipes was 0·11 mètre and their length 0·38. It probably started from the reservoir marked a little to the S.E. of the 4th mile of the Via Appia Nuova. Close to this reservoir were foundations of a building, perhaps a farmhouse in *opus reticulatum* with tufa quoins, and fragments of *dolia* (Lanciani in *Not. Scav.* 1889, 162).

A little way to the N., at point 58, close to the Naples line on the S.W., are the vaulted substructures of a large villa in concrete with facing of bad brickwork, and ribs of brickwork in the vaulting: it is probably of a comparatively late date: the bricks bear small plain circular stamps, and the superstructure is of *opus mixtum*. Much coloured marble is to be found among the ruins. The field-wall to the N. W. close to the railway-man's house contains a large quantity of debris, probably from the portion of these ruins which was cut during the construction of the railway in 1889, among which we found the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 595 b (Hadrian), 760 b (Commodus), 1068 a (?) (145–155 A.D., a fragment only), and a circular stamp with the letters ΣOSSVP (?) and in the centre ℕ?, which may be compared with *ibid.* 581 (Hadrian). There were also found several

[1] Here I found the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 265 (123 A.D.).

circular or rectangular stamps with geometrical designs; and two fragmentary inscriptions were also found here. One, discovered by Mr. Baddeley, is publishid by Lanciani in *Bull. Com.* 1899, 36. It runs thus:—

. . . ilas . . . | . . . t . form . . . . | . . . up . pp . f . . . |

The lettering belongs to the 5th century A.D. and the reference is, according to Lanciani, to some restoration of the aqueducts (*formae*) at that period. The other is a portion of a sepulchral inscription.

VII.—THE VIA LATINA FROM ROMA VECCHIA TO SETTE BASSI (*from the Fifth to the Sixth mile*).

The Casale of Roma Vecchia, which is situated right upon the line of the Via Latina, contains various objects of antiquity in its picturesque thirteenth century courtyard, including several inscriptions. The most important of these is that of T. Statilius Optatus, discovered about 400 mètres to the S.E. of the Casale, along the line of the modern farm-road marked in the map. It was first published by Tomassetti, *Bull. Com.* 1893, 79 *seq.*: cf. *C.I.L.* vi. 31863. *T. Statilio* [*T. f.*] | *Optato p*[. . . . .] | *proc*(*uratori*) *Aug*(*usti*) *a* [. . . . .] | *flamini C*[*eriali*] | *proc*(*uratori*) *Aug*(*usti*) *hered*(*itatium*) | *proc*(*uratori*) *Aug*(*usti*) *ad patrim*-(*onium*) | *proc*(*uratori*) *Aug*(*usti*) *ferrariar*(*um*) | *proc*(*uratori*) *Aug*(*usti*) *ad cens*(*us*) | *Gallorum* | *proc*(*uratori*) *Aug*(*usti*) *ad census Brit*(*tonum*) | *praef*(*ecto*) *alae Afrorum* | *trib*(*uno*) *leg*(*ionis*) *vi. victricis* | *trib*(*uno*) *leg*-(*ionis*) *vi. ferratae* | *praef*(*ecto*) *coh*(*ortis*) *i. Lucensium* | *Statilii Homullus* | *et Optatus* | *patri optimo.* The lettering is fine, and attributable to the time of Claudius or Nero. The inscription is cut upon a large marble slab, measuring 1·70 by 1·02 mètre (exclusive of the decorated edging); the height of the letters varies from 0·11 to 0·07 mètre. It stood upon a huge stylobate of travertine 2·23 mètres wide, 0·70 deep, with a cavity in the centre of 1·18 mètre.

Near this inscription was found also what Tomassetti believes to be

the marble top of the tomb to which it belonged, decorated with the *pileus* or *tutulus* (according to Tomassetti that of a *flamen*, the *apex* being omitted for artistic reasons), the *lituus* and the *simpulum*. This and the inscription are shown in Pl. III, Fig. 1. Tomassetti gives a photograph of the former in *Bull. cit.* 80.

Walls of brickwork and *opus reticulatum* belonging to other tombs were also discovered—among the former a fragment of a rectangular stamp with hollow letters bearing the word DOMITIAE in the first line, the second being illegible. In planting trees other stamps were subsequently found at the same point: I noted several copies of *C.I.L.* xv. 582 b (Hadrian), also 942 (134 A.D.) and a variety of 1005 b (93–108 A.D.).

FAV / / / / / / / / ITI TVLL .

Fau[sti Dom]iti Tull(i) (sc. *servi*).

Tomassetti also records the discovery of two bronze coins of the third century A.D., a piece of a fine marble cornice, an unimportant late sepulchral inscription (p. 87), and fragments of others; and of a rectangular sarcophagus, the cover having the form of a roof with *antefixae*, and the front being striated.

On Jan. 4, 1752 (or 1759), according to Guarneri (*Sched.* litt. F. f. 104, 288), there was discovered at Roma Vecchia the interesting inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 10245. *Liberti, libertae Prisci Aug(usti) l(iberti) Gamiani ex testamento descriptu(m) ita ut cautum erat subscripser(unt): locus* (sic) *monimenti sive ager est, Via Latina ad milliarium v., supra pontem ad monimentum Gami Caesaris Agathocliani do, lego libertis meis utriusque sexsus posterisque eorum et iis quos manumitti rogavi ibique tabernam fieri inque eam rem consumi sestertium n(ummum) quinquaginta milia arbitratu Agathangeli collib(erti)*. This bridge at the fifth mile is not otherwise known, nor can we be certain what stream it crossed.

Tomassetti in the article cited speaks of a large mass of Carrara marble, found about 300 mètres to the S.E. of the Casale, and still preserved there: it is a triangular prism in shape, 2·40 mètres long, 0·80 mètre high, 1·00 mètre wide at one end, and 0·80 at the other. Clamp holes at each end of the larger sides show that it was attached to other blocks at each side. This he takes to have been a part of the breakwater of the bridge by which the Via Latina crossed the Marrana. This stream

is not, however, as he believes, of classical, but of mediaeval origin (*supra*, 41).

The sepulchral inscription of T. Aelius Faustus (Marucchi, *Bull. Com.*, 1896, 61 *seq.*: *C.I.L.* vi. 34001) is here also: it was found close to the Casale about a mètre below ground and is cut upon a marble cippus 0·50 mètre high and 0·40 wide. It runs as follows:

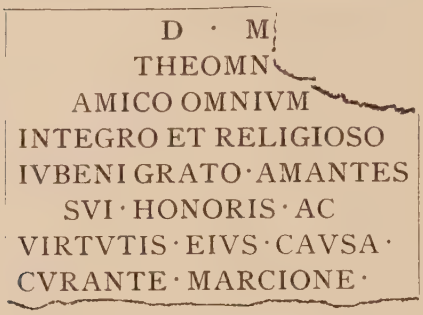
M oribus hic simplex situs | est Titus Aelius Faustus
A nnis in lucem duo de | triginta moratus,
C ui dederant pinguem | populis praebere liquorem
A ntoninus item Commodus | simul induperantes.
R ara viro vita et species, | rarissima fama,
(I) nvida sed rapuit semper | fortuna probatos.
V t signum invenias quod | erat dum vita maneret,
S elige litterulas primas | e versibus octo.

The meaning of lines 3 and 4 probably is, as Marucchi conjectures, that he was entrusted with the distributions of mulled wine (*crustulum et mulsum*)[1] which were made by the emperors on solemn occasions. The inscription belongs to the period 176–180 A.D., during which Commodus was associated in the Empire with his father M. Aurelius. It is interesting as a somewhat early example of an acrostic. In the same place another sepulchral inscription of no great importance was found (Marucchi, *cit.* 65: *C.I.L.* vi. 34250). Lanciani (*Bull. Com.* 1882, 160) publishes a fragmentary inscription

. . . Fonteio Q . f . . . . | . . . . Q . . . |
. . . mancup . stipend . . . . | . . . ex Africa

carved in large letters upon a slab of travertine, and found at the fifth mile in 1882: it had been used as building material in restoring a tomb. It too is at the Casale, just outside it, and rests upon a white marble altar of archaic shape without inscription (imitating the type exemplified in the altar of Verminus, Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1876, 24, *C.I.L.* vi. 31057): the top of the altar is 0·56 mètre square, and the total height 0·73. Three other inscriptions which I copied at the Casale in 1901 run as follows:

[1] Hülsen suggests that the reference may also be to oil (*C.I.L. in loc.*).

(1) 

Inscribed upon a slab of white marble, 0·67 mètre wide, 0·54 high: the letters are 0·05 to 0·04 mètre high.

(2)

The height of the slab of marble is 0·35 mètre: the letters in the first line are 0·13 high, except the small B which is 0·05 high; those in the second are 0·055 high.

(3)

Inscribed upon a frieze block 0·215 mètre in total height, the inscribed surface being 0·16 in height: the letters of the first line are 0·07 high, and those of the second, 0·06. The portion preserved is 0·84 mètre long.

I also noted some newly excavated architectural fragments—some large volutes and part of a frieze with a lion's head. There are, too, three cippi of travertine, without inscriptions, two of which measure 1·43 mètre in total height, 0·59 in width, and 0·28 and 0·31 respectively in thickness, while the third is a fragment, 0·98 mètre in height, 0·64 in width, 0·28 in thickness. None of them bears inscriptions, and they may have belonged to the Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus, the cippi of which are uninscribed (cf. *Bull. Com.* 1905, 291 for the description of such a cippus found in the Vicolo del Mandrione, which measures 0·62 mètre in width, and 0·29 mètre in thickness). Nibby saw at the casale (*Analisi*, iii. 595) a Corinthian base of white marble, $1\frac{3}{4}$ foot in diameter, which he

attributed to the Antonine period ; and close to the Marrana, which passes to the S.E. of the casale, a large Doric capital of white marble may be noticed.

Parker (*Aqueducts*, Diagrams Pl. XIII = *Historical Photographs*, 1937) gives a plan of the division into two channels of the Marrana at this point. The main channel now is the mediaeval Marrana : the other joins the Fosso dell' Acqua Santa, *i.e.* the headwaters of the Almo, which Parker wrongly believes to have descended from the Alban Hills even in classical times.

On the S.W. side of the Marrana are the remains of a large villa, which seems to have had a façade of *opus quadratum*, other parts being constructed in *opus reticulatum* and brickwork. Further to the S. at point 59, on the S.W. side of the aqueduct of the Claudia and Anio Novus, is a small reservoir.

A little further on again the modern Acqua Felice passes under the farm-road, and here, just to the S.W. of the latter, a few stones of the pavement of the Via Latina are visible *in situ*. Close by is a water reservoir, in concrete, faced with *opus reticulatum* with tufa quoins, measuring 10·20 by 5·50 mètres inside, with external buttresses ; and nearer the road is a concrete tomb.

Excavations were made in 1883 in the remains of a building immediately to the S.E. of the house marked 'Casale,' at point 65 on the map, which is an old railwayman's house on the abandoned line, between the latter and the aqueduct of the Acqua Felice. It was constructed of brick and *opus reticulatum*—the brickstamps range in date from 123 to 138 A.D. (*C.I.L.* xv. 301 a. 4 (124); 360. 1 (125); 553. 7 (123); 707. 9 (138?); 1208. 9 (123); 1339 (123); 1430. 2 (127); 1431. 4 (127)); and was restored with walling of courses of small blocks of tufa, alternating with bands of bricks : to the period of the restoration belonged three marble brackets 1·65 to 1·80 mètre long, with lions' heads at the ends, which had been cut out of hermae with heads of the bearded Bacchus ! The building was only excavated in part (a plan is given in the report of Lanciani, *Not. Scav.* 1883, 210, from which all these details are taken, as there is now nothing to be seen on the site). The two main halls found were long and comparatively narrow, each ending in an apse, and the apses being placed back to back : one of them had pilasters along the sides, with seats between them of concrete covered with yellow plaster, while the other had

plain walls. The former had columns of bigio (gray) marble, the latter of breccia corallina. From the latter opened another hall, semicircular, with a kind of large niche opposite the entrance, and paved with verde antico (Thessalian marble). The smaller rooms were irregular in shape and had fine pavements of marble and mosaic, one of the latter in five colours, with arabesques, etc.: fragments of good wall paintings were also found. In the adjacent room to the mosaic pavement mentioned was another, resting upon a hypocaust supported by hollow cylinders of terracotta 0·57 mètre high and 0·25 in diameter, each with four holes in it. (Cf. *Papers*, i. 165 for the description of a similar arrangement.)

To the S.E. of this point the tombs which flanked the Via Latina are in a fair state of preservation. The first building on the N.E. of the road (perhaps a reservoir) has two vaulted chambers upon a high foundation: on the other side of the road is a *columbarium* in brickwork, once decorated with fine stucco, now converted into an oven. Beyond this on each side are the remains of several other tombs. At point 64, a little way back from the road, are the remains of a villa, and to the S.E. of it, just above the stream to which the road now descends, and on the N.E. side of the road, the remains of a large tomb (?)—a mound with much debris of concrete and brick, and some marble: here I found the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 551 a (about 123 A.D.—two copies), 708 a (138 A.D.?) 1093 (about 75 A.D.). In the bed of the stream the pavingstones of the road and the *crepido* of blocks of tufa may be seen, giving the exact point at which it crossed. It reascends at once and reaches a somewhat higher level than before at point 74. Just before this it passes a building on the N.E. belonging apparently to the great group of ruins known as Sette Bassi, which must be dealt with in the next chapter (*infra*, 97).

We must now deal with the many discoveries recorded as having been made at 'Roma Vecchia,' in order to see which may correctly be assigned to the Via Latina and its neighbourhood. There seems to be some doubt as to what is meant by 'Roma Vecchia' in the accounts of the excavations of Hamilton in 1775 and subsequently, and of those carried on by order of Pius VI in 1789. Hamilton writes in 1775 as follows (Letter of Feb. 9 to Lord Shelburne, printed by A. H. Smith in *A Catalogue of Ancient Marbles at Lansdowne House*, p. 72). 'I must now say something relating to my late excavations at Roma Vecchia, four miles out of the gate of St. John, where I have found two entire busts, one of a Decemvir [*B.M.*

Gr.-R. Sculpture Catalogue, iii. 1940, where the date is wrongly given as 1776; *C.I.L.* vi. 1579], the other of L. Aemilius Fortunatus, as appears from the inscription on the *pieduccio* [*B.M. Gr.-R. Sculpture Catalogue*, iii. 1903; *C.I.L.* xiv. 2135]. These with a most elegant vase [possibly *B.M. Gr.-R. Sculpture Catalogue*, iii. 2500] you will see soon in the possession of Mr. Charles Townley, Whitehall.' A subsequent account written to Townley in 1779 (published by A. H. Smith in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxi. (1901) 316) contains the following passage: 'During the time of the Mal Aria at Ostia . . . I used to employ my men at Roma Vecchia. This is an estate belonging to the Hospital of St. John Lateran [it was sold in 1797 to Giovanni Torlonia] consisting of about 500 acres of ground about 5 miles from Rome, upon the road to Albano and that of Frascati. A considerable ruin is seen near this last upon the right hand, and is generally believed to be the ruins of a Villa of Domitian's nurse.[1] The fragments of Collossal Statues found near this ruin confirm me in this opinion, the excellent sculptour found in this place strengthens this supposition, among the most precious of which are your two fine Busts with the names—viz. the Decemvir and companion, and the Mercury asleep [really an Endymion, *B.M. Cat. cit.* iii. 1567], to which I may add a basso relievo of Aesculapius size of life, now in the collection of the Earl of Shelburne [Lansdowne House, no. 2]; last of all that uncommon Bacchante now the property of the Honble. Charles Greville. [Ariadne? *B.M. Cat. cit.* iii. 1638.] Your Basso relievo of the three Bacchante was the last and one of the finest things found in this lucky spot' (*B.M. Cat. cit.* iii. 2193). This account may be rightly held to supersede that of Townley, according to which this basrelief was found at Gabii; but the statement made by Smith (note 4) that 'there is no evidence to think that Hamilton was at Gabii until 1792' may be refuted by the note under a drawing of a head of a statue of Diana found by Hamilton in 1778 (see *Papers*, i. 187). Another statue found at Roma Vecchia was the Fortune (*B.M. Cat. cit.* iii. 1701).

This last description of the discoveries made by Hamilton would seem to point to his excavations having been made, not at the Villa of the Quintilii

[1] This theory is founded upon Suetonius, *Domit.* 17, cadaver eius . . . Phyllis nutrix in suburbano suo Latina via funeravit. Riccy, *Pago Lemonio*, 80, after describing the villa of Sette Bassi adds that the villa of Phyllis must have been in this district; but there is no evidence whatever for its identification with Sette Bassi.

close to the Via Appia (between the Via Appia Antica and the Via Appia Nuova), but at or near Sette Bassi (*infra*, 97). For this must, it seems to me, be the 'considerable ruin near this last (the road to Frascati) upon the right hand.'

Riccy (*Pago Lemonio*, 127) appears to think that the discoveries of Hamilton were made on the Via Appia, at Roma Vecchia (Villa of the Quintilii) which he describes (86 *seq.*) separately from Sette Bassi (78 *seq.*).[1] He enumerates, besides the objects above quoted, various sculptures given by Massi in his catalogue of the Vatican (*Indicazione*, 1792) as found at Roma Vecchia by Jenkins and Hamilton 'about 1780,' and as having been acquired from them for the Vatican. These are :—a fragment of a nude figure with a cornucopiae by her feet (Massi, p. 18), a sarcophagus with heads of lions (Massi, p. 30), a bust of the youthful Lucius Verus (Massi, p. 59, n. 17 ; Sala dei Busti, no. 286 ; Visconti, *Museo Pio Clementino*, vi. tav. 51 ; Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.* ii. 2, p. 208, no. 15), a statue of Euterpe with the flutes, almost life-size (Massi, p. 146, no. 64), a child with a shepherd's crook and a satyr's mask (Massi, p. 158, no. 124), another child wearing a short tunic and with two birds in his hands (Massi, p. 159, n. 131), a tiger with the head of a she-goat (Massi, p. 190, n. 42), a sarcophagus with basreliefs (Massi, p. 202, n. 36), and a bust of 'Diocletian' (Massi, p. 59, no. 19, now in the Capitol (Sala degli Imperatori, 80 : Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.* ii. 2, p. 90, taf. xxviii, who identifies it conjecturally with the father of Trajan).

Riccy adds that it was the good success of these excavations that led to the undertaking by the Pope's orders of subsequent excavations on his account, for the express benefit of the Vatican museum, under the direction of Lisandroni, which seem to have continued from May 1789 to May 1792. E. Q. Visconti's account of the sculptures found is printed by Riccy (pp. 129 *seq.*), and also in his own *Opere Varie* (i. 176 *seq.*). That the excavations of 1789–1792, however, were carried on close to the Via Appia, *i.e.* probably in the Villa of the Quintilii, there seems to be no doubt. Visconti's notes, as published by Riccy and corrected by Lisandroni, expressly call them 'gli scavi di Roma-Vecchia presso la Via Appia,' and

[1] It is difficult to say to which of the two groups of ruins the name Roma Vecchia really belongs : and in any case there has been much diversity of practice in its application. At the present day the Villa of the Quintilii is sometimes called Roma Vecchia di Albano, and Sette Bassi, Roma Vecchia di Frascati.

'fuori di Porta S. Sebastiano.' 'Fuori di Porta S. Giovanni' once occurs (Riccy, p. 142), but this is easily explained, as the Via Appia Nuova issues from that gate, and the Villa of the Quintilii lies between this road and the ancient Via Appia, which issues from the Porta S. Sebastiano. Some confusion is caused by Visconti's attribution of the bust of Lucius Verus to the Pope's excavations, and not to those of Hamilton, and still more seems to be created by his statement that the former were made only outside Porta Maggiore at Tor dei Schiavi, which Riccy, however, shows to be erroneous. That Visconti himself should have known so little about the provenance of sculptures that came into the museum almost directly after their discovery is indeed remarkable.

After Visconti's list Riccy adds (p. 145) from Lisandroni's notes other sculptures discovered at Roma Vecchia; and (p. 146, no. 101) states that he was assured by the sculptor Pierantoni that the Antinous, which he had restored as a Ganymede offering a cup of ambrosia to Jupiter, which was bought by 'Milord Hope' (it is now at Deepdene), was found about the year 1794, when the road to Frascati was being repaired between the fourth and fifth mile, *i.e.* on the boundary of or just within the tenuta of Roma Vecchia. If this statement is true Michaelis' supposition (*Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 283, no. 8) that it came from Hadrian's Villa must be corrected.

Hamilton also found 'at Roma Vecchia' at an unknown date the statue of a sleeping nymph, now at Knole (no. 2: Michaelis, *op. cit.*, p. 419), and, on an earlier occasion still, the bust of Athene, now in Lansdowne House (no. 93), bought from him in 1771 (A. H. Smith, *Lansdowne House Catalogue*, p. 45). At which group of ruins these were found is quite doubtful. It is also uncertain exactly where and by whom was found the round altar dedicated to Dionysus by Servilia Oeconomia and her husband Callicrates (*I.G.* xiv. 975), which was found, it is recorded, 'at Roma Vecchia on ground belonging to the Sancta Sanctorum in 1771.' The original is lost, but a modern copy of it exists in the town of S. Agata dei Goti, in the province of Benevento.

Excavations made about 1830 by Torlonia in some part of the tenuta of Roma Vecchia—described in a note by an unknown hand preserved among Amati's papers in the Vatican as 'between the Via Latina and the Via Appia, five miles from the Porta S. Giovanni,' in the vicinity, therefore, of the Via Appia Nuova, led to the discovery of statues, columns, and

as many as twelve sarcophagi (so Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 595). Among the statues we may reckon those mentioned in *Bull. Inst.* 1829, 212 ; 1830, 75, 262 ; 1831, 28 ; 1832, 3—two groups, each representing a Silenus embracing a Hermaphrodite ; a statue of a Satyr beating the *scabellum* (a kind of castanet played with the foot), another of a seated nymph, and another of a half-nude veiled woman, believed by Gerhard to be a Leucothea. Among the sarcophagi are those described in *Bull. Inst.* 1830, 262, as having representations of the labours of Hercules (now in the Museo Torlonia, nos. 330, 331, given in the catalogue as 'found near the Villa of the Quintilii'), Bacchic scenes (*ibid.* 326), and the fable of Apollo and Marsyas (this last one much damaged) : another is *ibid.* 334, which bears the inscription of a *centurio deputatus* (*C.I.L.* vi. 3558). The sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 22912—a cippus still in the Villa Albani—probably belongs to these excavations also. It is first recorded in Fea's notes by an unknown hand, as found five miles from the Porta S. Giovanni between the Via Latina and the Via Appia.

Tomassetti (p. 50 *note*), misled no doubt by the confusion to which I have alluded, attributes to Roma Vecchia many other sculptures (the bust wrongly attributed to Cicero in the Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 698, among them), which in reality belong to the Villa of the Quintilii : of those which he enumerates as in the Museo Torlonia, no. 15 (a life-size statue of a boy with a bulla) is entered in the catalogue (though this, as has been said, is untrustworthy) as found on the Via Appia, 17 (a Faun) as found at 'Roma Vecchia' in 1809, 19 (a bust of Isis) as found at the Villa Adriana, 21 (a dancing Faun) as found 'at Roma Vecchia' without further details, 45 (statue of a Faun playing with a tiger at his feet) as found here, 47 (a Venus rising from the sea) as found 'at Roma Vecchia.' He also quotes a report of Nibby in the Archivio del Camerlengato, recording the discovery in 1828 of two statues of Bacchantes in gray marble with their heads and feet in white marble, a torso of a recumbent Ariadne, a boy playing with a dog, an imperial bust without the head, and various fragments. Whether these are to be associated with the excavations just described as carried on by Torlonia near the Via Appia Nuova about 1830, I do not know. He adds that a certain Giacomo Vignati was fined in 1820 for not having reported the discovery of a sarcophagus with sculptures. It is, again, impossible to say whether the discovery of the sculptured representation in marble of a small shrine, in which Jupiter Capitolinus is seated (mentioned by Guattani,

Memorie Enciclopediche, v. 17, as discovered at Roma Vecchia, and as being then in the possession of Domenico del Frate), belongs to the Via Latina or the Via Appia.

In *Bull. Inst.* 1829, 38 we find it stated that excavations had been made on the Via Latina, five miles outside the Porta S. Sebastiano, in land belonging to Signor Fioravanti, among the remains of an ancient villa, the plan of which had been taken, and would be communicated to the Institute.

The fragmentary inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 1835 (on a marble slab, on the back of which is *I.G.* xiv. 2171) was found by Fortunati, but whether in the tenuta of Roma Vecchia or at Tor de Schiavi is uncertain. The same is the case with the sepulchral inscriptions *ibid.* 13734, 15778.

Excavations were also made about the middle (?) of the 19th century by Celli and Pizzicheria in the tenuta of Roma Vecchia, but unluckily it is uncertain whether a group of brickstamps now preserved at the German Archaeological Institute in Rome were found here, or at excavations carried on by the same persons near Civita Lavinia. These are *C.I.L.* xv. 2252–4, 2258, 2259, 2261, 2262, 2264, 2276, 2285, 2286, all of which belong to the 1st century A.D.

Various brickstamps are recorded in the *Corpus* as having been found in the tenuta of Roma Vecchia di Frascati by Ficker. These are *C.I.L.* xv. 568. 7 (Hadrian); 707. 10 (138 A.D.?); 708. 10 (138 A.D.?); 1090 a. 4 (155 A.D.); 1440 a. 3 (139 A.D.); 1500. 4 (Hadrian); 1764 (Commodus?) Of these 708 has been found at Sette Bassi recently, but on the exact provenance of the others I can throw no light; and the description is unfortunately inadequate. In 1861 Kiessling copied at Roma Vecchia *C.I.L.* xv. 958 a. 5 (about 123 A.D.), which has also been found there recently by Mr. Baddeley.

In 1876, near the fifth mile of the Via Latina and the aqueducts, excavations on the Torlonia property conducted by Fortunati led to the discovery of a staircase of two flights, of 67 steps in all, which descended for over 15 mètres below the ground level to a rectangular sepulchral chamber built of brickwork with three large niches, one at each side, and one at the end. One of the side niches was occupied by an enormous plain sarcophagus, roughly cut, without inscription (a marble tablet lying near it bore the words *Barbaro patrono Lucius alumnus*), while the other contained two smaller sarcophagi of marble, one in front of the other: they

were decorated with the 'strigil' (wavy) pattern and with lions' heads, and bore the inscriptions *Hilarino filio Mollicia mater* and *Benero filio Mollicia mater*, the sarcophagi belonging therefore to two brothers. From the back of the niches rectangular windows opened on to pozzolana quarries which had been converted into catacombs: these were reached from each side of the staircase by galleries at two different levels. There were unmistakable signs that this cemetery belonged to the Christian period—an inscription painted on the plaster by which one of the *loculi* was closed, a marble tablet with the inscription *in pace* and the impression of a Greek inscription on the plaster from another tablet, some Christian lamps, etc. See De Rossi in *Bull. Crist.* 1876, 34 *seq.* (pp. 40 *seq.*, 174 *seq.* of the French translation), and pl. xii, which shows the two sarcophagi with inscriptions still *in situ*. A fuller description by Stevenson, of which De Rossi speaks as forthcoming, never appeared. A considerable number of brickstamps were found in this cemetery, but they naturally give no light as to its chronology. (*C.I.L.* xv. 163. 23 (9 copies); 164. 21; 183 a. 4; 184. 1; 195. 8; 216. 9; 371. 16; 404. 20 (5 copies); 408 d. 84 (one in the stairs); 526. 8; 548 f. 21.; 581. 8; 625. 12; 630 a. 1; 675. 10 (about 27 copies); 680. 3; 911 a. 4; 992 e. 36; 1000 e. 37; 1022. 6; 1068 a. 14; 1154 b. 6; 1193. 3; 1318 a. 2; 1326. 3; 1331 b. 3). The skull of one of the skeletons in this crypt showed clear traces of an oblique sword-cut, cf. *supra*, 73. De Rossi does not identify with this crypt that in which Aglae deposited temporarily the remains of the martyr Boniface (cf. Nerini, *De Templo et Coenobio SS. Bonifacii et Alexii*, 12; Acta SS. 14 May) inasmuch as this was said to have been 50 stadia (6¼ miles) from Rome. In this cemetery the pagan inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 10259 (an inscription relating to a *columbarium* owned by Annius Phylletis and a *collegium* or burial club, the members of which called themselves Phylletiani), 21974 were found in use to close burial niches. The cippus, *C.I.L.* vi. 3711 = 31009 (a dedication to Silvanus by a veteran of the 8th Praetorian cohort, who had received his honourable discharge from M. Aurelius and L. Verus), was also found here in 1876, but not in the cemetery.

VIII.—THE VILLA CALLED SETTE BASSI.

The ruins of the great villa which bears the name of Sette Bassi are among the most conspicuous in the Roman Campagna. They are situated between the Via Tuscolana and the Via Latina, to the N.E. of the sixth mile of the latter. They have, naturally, attracted the attention of modern architects, though in the sixteenth century, as far as I know, only one drawing of them was made—a plan in Cod. Destailleur B. published by Lanciani in *Mélanges de l'École Française*, xi. (1891), 170 *seq.* The author of the plan is unknown—Geymüller's attribution to Fra Giocondo (*ibid.*) is not very probable, according to Lanciani's view. It bears the legend 'questa e una uilla fuora di Roma quale era di lucinio morena et e p(er) la strada di grottaferrata lontano da l'aqquidutto circa cinquanta passi et fa unaltro aquidutto p(er) pigliar laqqua dal puplico benche poi ce la restituisce.' (This is a villa outside Rome, which belonged to Lucinio Morena (*sic*) and is on the road to Grottaferrata, distant from the aqueduct about fifty paces, and has another aqueduct to take the water from the public aqueduct, though it is afterwards given back.) It shows a large building, constructed round the curved end of a *stadium* or *hippodromus*; and, as Lanciani remarks, this peculiarity, and the mention of its neighbourhood to the great aqueducts and of its possession of a branch aqueduct, make the identification with this villa certain (despite the mention of the name of Licinius Murena, cf. *infra*, 120), though the details of the plan are very far removed from the truth, and give no information of any value.

It is not mentioned, except in passing, by subsequent writers, and the next plan of it was not made until the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Guattani, *Monumenti Antichi Inediti*, 1787, 21 and tav. i., gives a very poor general plan of the whole group made by Antolini, and states that drawings on a larger scale had been made by a French architect, who, as we learn from Uggeri, *Giornata Tuscolana*, tav. iii, was one Landon, a student of the French Academy at Rome. His work served as the foundation of Uggeri's plan, which was repeated by Angelini and Fea, *Via Latina*, tav. iii, and by Canina, *Edifizi*, vi. tav. lxxix.—in the latter case with arbitrary restorations. The plan itself is a fairly good one, but no distinction is made in it between the different levels and periods of

construction. Lanciani (*Mélanges, cit.*) mentions that an architect whose name was unknown to him, had recently made a plan of the villa, over which he had spent six weeks; but this has, so far as I know, never seen the light.

I have, therefore, had a new series of drawings made by Mr. F. G. Newton, Student of the School, the accuracy of which I have myself carefully tested on the spot. Pl. VI is a general plan, showing the relative positions of the different buildings, pl. VII shows the central portion of the villa at the ground level, pl. VIII the substructions[1] (and in an inset, the reservoir no. 12 by which the villa is supplied), pl. IX the outlying buildings to the N.E.—nos. 5–10 (and, in an inset, the building by the Via Latina, no. 14, to the S.S.W. of the rest). The best preserved and the most important portion of the villa is the central group (1–3 on pl. VI). Three periods may be distinguished in this: to the first belong the whole of the building no. 1 and the portions shown in black in no. 2, except the walls on the S.W., which are contemporary with no. 3); to the second must be attributed the shaded portions of no. 2; while to the third belong the whole of the building no. 3, the so-called *stadium* to the S. of it, and the building no. 13 to the S.E.

Taking first of all the earliest portion, block 1, we find to the S.E. of it a detached piece of walling, of *opus reticulatum*, reinforced on the N.W. by a wall faced on the outer side with brickwork, and on the inner with little rough bits of tufa. In the main block we first find an open court, *a*, the S.E. wall of which, shown in Landon's plan as having niches all along on the N.W. side, has almost completely disappeared—so much so, indeed, that one would otherwise be almost inclined to suspect an entrance here, though not for the full width, as the start of a curved niche on the S.W. shows. On the S.W. and N.E. sides, at any rate, are arches supporting low vaulted roofs: the extrados of the vaults is tiled, the tiles coming up to a point above the crown: in the wall above the pillars are slit openings, indicated in the plan, which are, rather than windows, apertures for drainage off the top of these vaulted roofs, inasmuch as they communicate with downward pipes in the thickness of the walls. These openings are 0·53 high on the outside, and 0·52 wide, while on the side towards the court they are 0·33 high and 0·225 wide. At the N.W. end of this court, on the left, opens a hall, *b*, with three large

[1] By an oversight on my part, pl. VIII has been reproduced on a somewhat larger scale than pl. VII, but, as each plan has its own scale, no difficulty need arise.

windows in the N.W. wall[1] and one on the N.E. side, while there was perhaps also one on the S.W. side opposite to it. This hall, like the rest of this block, is buried to a considerable depth above floor level, and it is probable that there were doors at each end of the N.W. side. In any case, it is clear that it occupied the height of two stories. To the S.W. are rooms of no great importance (for *c* see *infra*, 100).

On the right, a vaulted passage *d* leads out of the court, and from it opens, on the right (N.E.) again, a room *e* with quadripartite vaulting, below which there are unmistakable traces of another vault of the same kind, so that the room had a double ceiling. On the S.E. wall are the traces of four pilasters, two near each end, the brickwork being absent for a width of 0·43 mètre and a depth of 0·10. In the N.W. wall near the N. angle is a blocked doorway, which was closed when alterations were made in the next room *f* to the N.W., while another doorway in the same wall to the S.W. still remained in use. There was originally a barrel vault corresponding to each of these openings in room *f*; but later the size of the room was reduced by the insertion of a new N.E. wall, which blocked up one of these openings, and a new barrel vault was put in instead, at right angles to and superseding the previous vaulting, and terminating at the new N.E. wall.

In the N.W. portion of the block the rooms are for the most part lower, so that, the ground having risen considerably, the ceilings of the ground floor rooms are often not much above the present grass level. At *g* a flight of steps descends from the first to the ground floor. The large semicircular room *h*, however, goes right down to the ancient ground floor level, while its domed roof rises to the level of those of the upper floor. It was entered from the S.E. by a passage: in each of the curved sides are a door and a window, and on the N.W. a window above a break in the wall, which may or may not represent an original door. On the exterior of this wall are small holes about 0·20 mètre wide by 0·10 high and 0·10 deep, to support corbels or some decorative architectural members.

Throughout the block *opus reticulatum* mixed with brickwork and pure brickwork appear to be used indifferently. But the word brickwork itself requires correction, or at least explanation, in view of recent observations on the subject made by Boni. In the *Atti del Congresso Internazionale*

[1] The edges of the windows are here, and in all the plans, indicated by fine white lines.

di Scienze Storiche, vol. v. (Rome, 1904) 560, 561 he deals with the use of broken fragments of flanged tiles as facing to concrete walls (the *structura* or *lorica testacea* of Vitruvius), in connexion with the 'brick' wall at the back of the rectangular Rostra in the Roman Forum, which is faced in this way, and which, despite Hülsen's arguments (*Röm. Mitt.* 1906, 20), I entirely agree with Mau in believing to belong to the time of Trajan (*ibid.* 259). The building near the Lacus Curtius, which Boni—in my opinion wrongly (see *Classical Review*, 1906, 132)—considers to be the imperial tribunal of the time of Trajan, but which is in any case posterior to the reign of Domitian, has its walls faced entirely with fragments of tiles, not a single triangular brick being used.

In this connexion it may be interesting to note that a careful examination of the walls of this block revealed the presence of many broken fragments of flanged tiles in the facing: the flanges had (as in the other two cases just described) been broken off, and the outer edge of the fragment is more often not the original one, but a new one obtained by cutting or working with the hammer. In some cases, indeed, one finds that a flanged tile has been broken right across its length, so that the traces of both flanges are left: the width of such a tile varies from 0·30 to 0·32 mètre. No triangular bricks are present in this block, as far as I can tell. In room *c* I extracted several specimens from the walls, and two fragments (in neither case with flanges) bore stamps—one was *C.I.L.* xv. 1439 (128–133 A.D.), while of the other only a part was preserved

TRA*iano Aug.* / / / / / / / / / COS
EXO*fic.* / / / / / ⚘S⚘P⚘. (100, 101, 103 or 112 A.D.)

The average thickness (from 22 measurements) of the bricks[1] in this part of the building worked out at 0·0316 mètre and that of the mortar courses at 0·0173. In the lower part of the N.E. wall of room *c* below the brick facing we find rough *opus incertum* of peperino in use.

The next block to the N.W. (no. 2) belongs, as we have said, to three different periods: that to the N.E. (shown in black) is the earliest, and apparently consisted of a single range of rooms with windows facing S.W., and a brick cornice above them on the exterior: they were blocked up by the thickening of the S.W. wall when more rooms were added on that side.

[1] The words 'brick' and 'brickwork' are used throughout my description for convenience, and must be read in the light of the explanation just given.

At *i* there seem to have been stairs, probably a narrow flight leading down to the stoke-hole of a hypocaust, or to a cellar. *k* has walls coated with *opus signinum* and was probably a water reservoir, but is filled up to the spring of the vault. Its N.E. wall is hollow, with a damp course in it for a certain height, after which it begins to be solid. The next room *l* had one window, now blocked, while *m* had two large ones with a pillar between them: when these were closed, an arched opening, which did not exist in the earlier period, was made beneath them to give access to the rooms on the S.W.: *n* similarly had two windows, and *o* and *p* one each. In the latter the window was not entirely blocked, but a small portion was left open, allowing the light to enter the room from above: in the N.W. wall, too, there has been a window below the spring of the vaulting, which was first reduced in size, and then blocked up altogether (see plan). To the N.W. of *p* there was originally another room; but here the earlier S.W. wall was (subsequently to the construction of the later) pulled away, and the angle re-pointed above, but not below. The construction of this earlier portion is entirely of brickwork, with broken pieces of flanged tiles frequently occurring in it.

The later portion of block 2 on the S.W. (shaded in the plan) consists mainly of a series of fairly large rooms looking out to the S.W. upon the great courtyard (shown from the S.W. in Pl. IV., Fig. 2, and from the S.E. on the right of Pl. V., Fig. 2). *q* had three barrel vaulted divisions, and opened upon a terrace *r* with a semicircular projection towards the courtyard. In one of these vaults I saw a square tile bearing a stamp in hollow letters, of which not enough was legible to identify it, but which probably belonged to the time of Hadrian. The superstructure is almost entirely gone, but the subterranean passage *s* is well preserved. It leads on into another, *w* (see pl. VIII), which runs below and in front of rooms *u* and *v*: the N.E. wall of *w* does not carry any of the weight of the walls above, as it does not come exactly under them, and probably served to keep the earth back: behind it—seen at the back of the small chamber *x*—is a drain with pent roof, running apparently parallel to this wall. The earlier S.W. wall of *w* had brackets of travertine blocks projecting from it, 0·23 mètre wide, 0·35 high (with slit windows between them, which are indicated in the plan); they were partly buried by the later wall (shown in black), though the ends of some of them still remained visible. A second passage seems to have been added at the time of the

construction of block 3, to the S.W. of the earlier one. Room *t* has vertical rectangular slits in the walls, possibly for flues from hypocausts or for down-pipes for roof drainage: in its N. angle is a small vaulted space, in which are much damaged remains of painted plaster, with geometrical designs on a white ground. *u* is a large room with quadripartite vaulting in the centre, large arches on the N.W. and S.E. over recesses, and a very large window on the S.W. (in the centre of Pl. IV., Fig. 2). On the N.W. and S.E. sides of it are slits similar to those in room *t*. When block 3 was built, the S.W. wall of *u* was strengthened by a walling (shown in black on the plan) of bands of small rectangular blocks of peperino alternating with bands of brick, of similar construction to that of block 3. The relative antiquity of the two is clear at the points of contact, and especially outside the W. angle of *v*.

The later portion of block 2 is constructed almost entirely of *opus reticulatum* with bands of brickwork, though in a few places there is a little brickwork without admixture, in which fragments of flanged tiles are frequently employed. The thickness of the bricks and of the mortar courses is about the same as in block 1.

We now turn to block 3, which, as we have seen, is later in date than the rest of the building. Here we find too a different style of construction, the greater part of the walls being faced with bands of small rectangular blocks of peperino and bands of brick courses alternating: in the brickwork, I was only able to detect comparatively few flanged tiles, most of the bricks being halves of small tiles about 0·20 square, but cut into rectangles, not diagonally. The whole block is supported on lofty substructions, which will be separately described. It was approached from the S.E. by the passage *w*, the S.W. side of which was in all probability open above ground level: at *y* is a doorway opening to the N.E., on the N.W. side of which we may notice that a pillar of the later period, begun too narrow by mistake, has been thickened up contemporaneously in brickwork.

After passing through another doorway *z*, the passage or gallery turns, and runs along the S.E. side of block 3: the vaulting of the passage *aa* below it has collapsed for almost the entire length. Beginning at the N.E. end of the block, we have, apparently, a series of baths: we first reach a rectangular courtyard *bb*, which probably contained the cold bath, and may have been open to the air. It was surrounded by a wall adorned with half

columns 0·45 mètre in diameter, the wall being constructed of very fine brickwork with triangular bricks averaging 0·034 mètre thick, and the mortar courses being only 0·008 thick. It was surrounded by ambulatories : a mosaic pavement with small tesserae is still *in situ* in the S.W. ambulatory : it apparently has a design in black and white, and might repay excavation —which indeed would clear up many doubtful points. My account is, of course, subject to correction in this respect.

To the N.W. are the scanty remains of three large halls, two of which appear to have had apses : the N.W. wall may be distinguished rising to a considerable height, to the left of Pl. IV., Fig. 1. In that marked *cc* on the plan a drain in the niche on the N.E. side, running down to below the floor level, no doubt indicates the presence of a fountain. This hall had flues in the wall in one place at least and its pavement was of rough black mosaic. From this point a passage *dd* ran along the N.W. side of the block to the S.W. end. The next room to *bb* on the S.W., *ee*, has quadripartite vaulting, and some flues for hot air in the walls : it was probably the *tepidarium*. Two openings lead from it into *ff*, which appears to have been the *calidarium*. The walls contain many flues formed of rectangular box tiles, while the ventilation was provided for by circular pipes starting from the crown of the vault. The roofing is somewhat complicated—two quadripartite vaults over the centre, and two barrel vaults in different directions over the N.W. portion of the room. In the N.W. wall are two openings to other smaller rooms—that on the N.E. has a rectangular window over it, and that on the S.W. a small slit window.

In the smaller rooms on each side of the *tepidarium* and *calidarium*, some of which no doubt served as dressing rooms, etc. (the room with quadripartite vaulting to the N.W. of *ff* was heated by flues), are a number of shafts (marked *s* in the plans) communicating with the substructions : we must suppose wooden staircases in some of them for the use of the slaves who were entrusted with the service of the baths, while others had wooden galleries over them—*e.g.* that in front of the S.E. door of *ff*, and that in front of the N.E. door in the N.W. wall of this room. Others again may have been simply for light and air : this might be inferred to be the case with those which have no direct communication with either *ee* or *ff*, and is certainly the case with that outside the S. angle of the latter, into which two windows open from it. The small flight of steps here shown apparently leads down from the level above the roof of *ff* into *gg*, while two niches,

opening apparently on to *aa*, and having perhaps no other function than to fill up superfluous space, may have been produced by alterations. *gg* and the corresponding space on the S.W. *ii* were apparently occupied by large staircases, three stories high; the lower story was barrel vaulted, at the N.W. end at any rate, with a large opening at each end into the passages *aa* and *dd*: on the next story *gg* and *ii* have a large window with a smaller slit window on each side of it at the N.W. end, so that the passage *dd* does not appear to have been more than the one story high: the uppermost story of *gg* and *ii* has almost entirely gone.

The great hall *hh* is as it stands the most imposing part of the villa: its N.W. wall is still standing, almost, apparently, to its full height. Pl. III., Fig. 2, is a view of it seen from within, while Pl. IV., Fig. 1, shows it from without. It is pierced on the lower level by three large openings, which, like those leading to *gg* and *ii*, have flat brick arches with springers of blocks of travertine, with semicircular relieving arches: the three windows above have slightly curved arches, again with semicircular relieving arches. The S.E. wall had corresponding openings on the lower level at any rate, but only the bases of the pillars which supported it are preserved (see Pl. V. Fig. 2). The side walls had doorways at each end leading into *gg* and *ii*: the N.E. wall has almost entirely disappeared, but that on the S.W. is still preserved to a considerable height. The roof of this great hall was probably a flat roof of timber. The vaulting upon which its floor rested has collapsed: it was paved with rough black mosaic, with cubes about 0·03 mètre deep, and 0·015 to 0·02 square at the top. To the S.W. of *ii* was a similar hall *kk*, of which, with the exception of the S.W. wall, which stands to a considerable height, comparatively little is preserved. To the S.W. of it was a staircase. The shafts to the S.W. of it ran from the bottom right up to the top of the building, and served entirely for light and air, as the windows opening into them show: their existence argues that a good deal of the building must have fallen away, as otherwise the necessity for their construction is not apparent.

We may now turn to examine the substructions of this block, beginning from the N.E. end (see pl. VIII). *bb* is supported (as, supposing it to be a *frigidarium* with a large cold water bath, would be necessary) by a most perfect system of vaults (carefully indicated in the plan). The construction is in this part entirely of brickwork, but there is no distinction of date between the brickwork by itself and the facing with alternate bands

of blocks of peperino and brickwork. I was only able to detect a few fragments of flanged tiles in the brickwork, but two in the substructions of the great hall *hh* were unmistakable,[1] one of which was in a piece of *opus reticulatum* and brickwork on the N.E. side of this part of the substructions, and the other in a band of brickwork alternating with a band of courses of small blocks of peperino. The vaulting is faced with small tiles 0·20 square, many of which bear the stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 562 (134 A.D.), 576 b (period of Hadrian). Here I also found loose *ibid.* 373 (123 A.D.), 585 (period of Hadrian).

I also found *C.I.L.* xv. 562 *in situ* in rooms *ee*, *hh*, and *kk* at the upper end, and 576 b close by *hh*; also a fragment ⌣ *lu* ⌈CILLA⌉ near *hh*, and another fragment ⌣ RIS N / IC A to the N.W. Lanciani, *Mélanges, cit.* 175, notes that he saw several copies of 562 and 724 (Faustina the younger (?)).[2]

At *cc* the collapse of the upper portion has extended to the substructions also. The vaulting of the space *ee* is noticeable: it is quadripartite, with two ribs intersecting in the centre. The ribs, like those in the vaulting of the so-called 'temple of Minerva Medica' near the Porta Maggiore—really a large nymphaeum (see Giovannoni *La sala termale degli orti liciniani*, in *Annali della società degli Ingegneri ed Architetti italiani*, 1904) do not consist entirely of tiles, but only in part, the interstices being filled with lighter material, while the rest of the vault was built of similar material after the ribs had been constructed. The ribs are 0·65 mètre wide; the interval between the large bonding tiles in the ribs is 0·40 mètre. This is perhaps the earliest datable appearance of such ribs in Roman architecture.

The substructions under the centre and S.W. part of the great hall *hh* have quadripartite vaulting, and the rest (as those of *gg* and *ii*) barrel vaulting, in which ribs of the character above described may be seen. Near the W. angle there is a complete mixture, allowing of no distinction of dating, of *opus reticulatum* of tufa with tufa quoins, and facing with small rectangles of peperino, bands of brickwork alternating with both these forms

[1] Here I found (loose) the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 576 b (period of Hadrian).

[2] So Dressel in *C.I.L.* Lanciani assigns it to Faustina the elder. If Dressel is right it is a good deal later than any of the rest. Lanciani does not say exactly where he saw it, and I have not myself found it.

of facing. Under the N.E. portion of *kk* the vaulting was entirely quadripartite. At *ll* we may notice a wall corbelled out on two travertine brackets.

Blocks 2 and 3 are situated on the N.E. and N.W. sides respectively of a large open space—no doubt a garden—the S.W. and S.E. sides of which are also enclosed by buildings. That on the S.W. (4) consists of a long line of substructions (the N.W. end of which is shown in Pl. V., Fig. 1) supporting a terrace which has by previous writers been spoken of as a *stadium* or *hippodromus*.[1] The apse, however, with the large window 2·90 mètres wide in the centre, and the existence of what look like the remains of an aisle on the S.W. side (on the N.E. no certainty can be reached without excavation) may indicate that we should rather see in this portion of the building the ruins of a hall of basilican form, which extended as far as the point *mm*. It is the earliest specimen of an apse with external buttresses in Roman architecture (Rivoira, *Origini dell' Architettura Lombarda*, ii. 236). The construction is similar to that of block 3. To the S.E. of this point the terrace continues for a length of 275 mètres, the remains of construction being scanty: a slightly curved piece of wall not far from the S.E. end (shown only on pl. VI) is of bad construction and late date.

At the S.E. end of the garden is a long narrow building (pl. VII. 13) the exact extent of which to the N.E. is not certain. It is constructed partly of *opus reticulatum* of tufa and partly of small rectangular blocks of peperino, alternating in both cases with bands of brickwork. On the N.W. side are windows, some of which have been filled in later times with rough concrete, faced with small irregular pieces of tufa, brick, and selce. On the S.E. side buttresses, sloping at an angle of about 13° from the perpendicular on the outer side, and constructed of alternate bands of courses of small peperino blocks and of brickwork, have been added to the original building, at an earlier date, however, than the filling of the windows. At the S.W. end of the building traces of an arch from wall to wall may be seen, while to the N.E. of the N.E. end two fragments of fallen vaulting, shown on the plan, prove that the buildings extended further in this direction.

To the N.E. again is the reservoir 12 (cf. the inset plan on pl. VIII) which supplied the villa with water: it was fed by an aqueduct which is

[1] For the latter term, cf. Marx, *Jahrb. des Inst.* 1895, 136.

described *infra*, 110. It is constructed of good brickwork (which Lanciani, *Mélanges, cit.* 175, attributes to the end of the 2nd century A.D.), and the outer wall is decorated with curved niches: the interior is divided into two chambers by a crosswall 0·61 mètre thick.

We must now turn to examine the somewhat more scanty remains to the N.E. of the main building, between it and the Osteria del Curato (nos. 5–10, see pl. IX). No. 5 is a semicircular fountain basin lined with *opus signinum*: the square mass close to it is a pillar of rough construction with large rectangular blocks of stone mixed with bricks, and probably mediaeval.

No. 6 is an isolated building facing S.W.: it had a porch in front of it, now gone, as may be seen from the spring of an arch outwards from the present front wall. It consists of a rectangular hall, with a rectangular niche at the N.E. end: it has five slit windows on each side (shown in the plan) and an upper tier of three more such windows just below the spring of the barrel vault. It is constructed of brickwork in which a few flanged tiles may be detected. Some of the large flat tiles which form the tops and bottoms of the slit windows bear stamps—I have copied there *C.I.L.* xv. 617 (145–155 A.D.), 1019 (about 120 A.D.), and the fragments

$$\smile \begin{matrix} \text{EX FIGL} \\ \text{IV / / DES} \end{matrix} \Big\} \quad \smile \begin{matrix} \text{FIC} / / / / / / / \text{INIS} \\ \text{VLSI} \end{matrix} \quad \smile \begin{matrix} \text{EX P} \end{matrix} \Big\}$$

The bricks are slightly thicker than in the rest of the villa, the average being 0·041 mètre and for the mortar, 0·015 mètre.

No. 7 is simply an isolated wall, near which, however, there is a good deal of debris: not far from here I found a fragment of the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1434 or 1436 (128 or 130 A.D.) $\smile$ DPQSE $\Big\}$. No. 8 is a portion of a vaulted structure—probably a crypto-porticus—with small windows 0·30 mètre wide and high. No. 9 is a detached portion of a building in two stories, of brickwork which is somewhat inferior to that of the rest of the villa, and probably belongs to a later date, the bricks averaging 0·03 mètre thick, as before, while the mortar courses are as much as 0·022 thick.

No. 10 is a somewhat more extensive building (though not, it would seem, preserved in its entirety) resting upon vaulted substructions, which are shown in the plan. On the S.W. at *a* there has been a slight extension: the piers of an original arcade (shown hatched in the plan) may still be

traced: it is in *opus mixtum* like the rest of the building, the additional walls being faced with small rectangular blocks of tufa. The upper portion is not well preserved, and there is nothing above the curious room *b*, with its four quadripartite vaults and apse: the only variation between the plan of the substructions and that of the upper story seems to be, that there was a single large room over *c*, *d*, *e*, in the walls of which flues for hot air may be seen. At 11 is a drain in a modern quarry, running N.E. and S.W.

At the S. extremity of the whole group, on the N.E. side of the Via Latina, is a detached building briefly described by Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 737 (no. 14 on the general plan, Pl. VI; a detailed plan is given in the inset on Pl. IX). Mazois' plan of it (*Ruines de Pompéi* pars ii, *Essai sur les Habitations* Pl. II. fig. iii) is on the whole good—it shows a little more than ours as existing, and the whole building is restored and amplified in a way which is to a considerable extent arbitrary or actually incorrect (for instance Mazois makes the line of the back of the building continue along from the N.E. end of the apsidal hall, leaving only the apse isolated) but the reconstruction is on the whole far better than that in Canina's work of the larger villa (Canina *op. cit.* tav. lxxix gives a very much reduced copy of Mazois' plan). The statement in the text of Mazois (p. 34), that the road shown to the S.W. is a branch road from the Via Tuscolana, is of course erroneous, and it is somewhat surprising that Mazois should not have recognized it (if indeed he ever saw it) as the Via Latina.

The building stands on the N.W. slope of the knoll marked in the map as 74 m. above sea-level, and the ground slopes sharply away to the N.W. to the valley mentioned *supra*, 90 and less abruptly to the S.W. and N.E. The principal room, which occupies indeed almost the greater part of the building, is a hall with quadripartite vaulting in the centre and a large recess at each side, that on the N.W. being apsidal, with some traces of painting. To the S.W. another apsidal room projects towards the road, the apse not being preserved above foundation level: there do not seem to be any traces of a similar room corresponding to it at the other end of the façade. The large hall already mentioned leads to other smaller rooms on the N.E. in close connexion with it, while on the S.E. is a narrow passage only 0·90 mètre in width, which contained a flight of stairs. The existence of windows opening into it from the N.W. would indicate, either that it is a later addition (of which there is however no indication in the

construction) or at any rate that it received some light from above. The portions of walling at its S.W. end shown in outline are a later addition in inferior brickwork.

To the N.E. of the main block the building is not so well preserved as elsewhere. In the now detached chamber to the N.W. a blocked window 0·90 mètre wide (indicated by two breaks in the wall) may be seen: to the S.E. is a wall showing remains of vaulting on each side of it, and, beyond it again, an apsidal chamber, the foundations of which project down the slope to the N.E.

The construction is mainly of concrete faced with good brickwork, and I was not able to detect any fragments of flanged tiles in the facing. The late restoration at the S.W. end of the narrow passage has already been noticed: Lanciani (*Mélanges cit.* 174) considers that the work by which some of the windows are blocked may belong to the early mediaeval period. In the chamber to the N.E. of the apse of the main hall I found the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 562 (134 A.D.). In the apse itself is still lying loose part of a marble sepulchral cippus, with a fragment of an inscription published by Lanciani (*loc. cit.*). The letters are good, and are 0·068 mètre in height. He also noticed an Attic base 0·43 mètre in diameter and a column drum of Oriental granite.

Excavations made by Cacchiatelli 'on the Via Latina at the 6th mile' (we have no further details) led to the discovery of the lead pipe *C.I.L.* xv. 7417, *C. Bellici Calpurni Apolausti* (Dressel does not accept Lanciani's reading in *Syll.* 333, *C. Bellici Calpurni*; *Apolaust(us) f(ecit)*), which may conceivably have belonged to this building. Lanciani quotes a document of 897 in the *Reg. Subl.* f. 140^{v}, which mentions a 'fundus Bellicus in Via Latina miliario plus minus sexto'—an interesting survival of the old name. Cf. *Bull. Crist.* 1872, 97. Tomassetti, 71, considers that it is also mentioned as ΒΙΛΛΙΚΙϹ in the inscription of S. Erasmus on the Caelian (*infra*, 128).

To the S.E., on the front line of the building, but apparently not connected with it, is a row of chambers, opening towards the road, of which two only are tolerably preserved: there were at least three and possibly five or six. They are constructed in the same style as the walls of the third period at Sette Bassi itself—of small rectangular blocks of tufa with bands of brickwork at intervals.

The aqueduct which supplied the great villa of Sette Bassi can be clearly traced for almost its entire course by the considerable remains of it

which still exist. It branched off from the Aqua Claudia, according to Lanciani (*Mélanges cit.* 172), not from the Anio Novus, as Fabretti (*De Aquis*, 158) thought, as the lack of the somewhat foul deposit characteristic of the latter water shows. I must say, however, that the deposit I saw in the terminal piscina seemed to me to resemble rather that of the Anio Novus. The first portion of it, to the S.W. of the Via Latina, is constructed in the form of a continuous wall 0·90 mètre thick, pierced in places by arched openings 2·35 mètres wide, at intervals of 2·80 mètres, the bottom of these openings being 2·20 mètres above the ground level. It is partly constructed of *opus mixtum*, i.e. of alternate courses of brick and small rectangular blocks of tufa, and partly of bands of bricks and bands of blocks of tufa or peperino, at intervals varying from 0·25 to 1·70 mètre. The fronts of the arches are entirely formed of half bricks 0·297 mètre in length. Lanciani, from whom this description is taken, considers from its construction that it dates from the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century, and was largely restored in the fifth century, to which would belong the rough reinforcing walls 0·60 thick.[1] After passing under the Via Latina, immediately to the S.E. of the building just described, which it must have done at a comparatively small depth—the pavement is not preserved, though Lanciani notes a fragment of the *crepido*, formed of blocks of selce set sideways—the aqueduct runs upon arches. Of these there were originally 97, but 24 have fallen : in the 65th pillar Lanciani noted the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 533 a (Marcus or Commodus) and I have found *ibid.* 616 (about 140 A.D.) lying close to the aqueduct, from which it had evidently fallen.[2] The piscina to which it led has been already described (*supra*, 106 ; pl. VIII. 12). Along the course of the aqueduct loose pavingstones may be noticed—no doubt from the branch road from the Via Latina, which would naturally have followed this course to the villa.

[1] To the N. of it between the Acqua Marcia and the Acqua Felice, and rather closer to the latter, are the remains of a small square nymphaeum or fountain, entered from the S.E. side by steps : the interior is of brickwork, with a quarter round of cement in the angles, and the exterior of *opus reticulatum* with curved niches. To the S. of it, between it and the Acqua Felice, and to the S.W. of the abandoned railway line, are the remains of three buildings, in the remains of the southeasternmost of which I found various coloured marbles and a rectangular brickstamp (with hollow letters) of 123 A.D., of which I have, unfortunately, no more detailed record. Probably the date was the only part recognizable.

[2] Lanciani notes that the brickstamp found by him was part of a repair, and could therefore give no evidence of date. I am not sure myself that the aqueduct should be dated so late as the end of the third century, though, as he says, it is open to us to suppose that a syphon was used before it was constructed, to supply the villa.

It seems possible that the Villa of Sette Bassi derived a portion of its supply (or perhaps the whole before the construction of this aqueduct) from the Aqua Julia, which in this neighbourhood runs just below the surface. Parker (*Aqueducts*, Diagrams, pl. VII = *Historical Photographs*, 696)* gives the plan and section of a branch channel and 'loch' in good brickwork and *opus reticulatum*, which he supposes to have supplied the villa, stating that it was discovered about 1850 by Signor Moraldi when he was making a map of the Aqua Marcia. Of this I must confess that I have seen nothing: it must have been excavated and covered up again.

The question as to the date of the construction of the villa, and the name of its owner, now claims attention. We have seen that, though three different periods can be distinguished, the brickstamps give hardly any difference of date. In block 1, which is the earliest, we find stamps of 100–112 and 128–133 A.D. *in situ* (*supra*, 100), and outside room *h* (loose) I found a fragment of a lunate stamp on which the letters ⎧NINOI⎫ are alone preserved. In block 2, the stamp I saw in the vaulting of *q* must be of about the same date, while the stamps of block 3 vary from 123 A.D. to 141 A.D. (?), those of 134 A.D. (entirely xv. 562) being the most plentiful. No stamps later than about 140 A.D. seem to occur.[1] In the building no. 6 we find one stamp of about 120 A.D., another of 145–155 A.D.—the latter naturally giving the date, while the date of the building no. 13 close to the Via Latina is given by a brickstamp as not earlier than 134 A.D., and that of the aqueduct is uncertain (*supra*, 110) but not previous to M. Aurelius.

As to the ownership of the building we have no certain evidence. The name Sette Bassi appears for the first time in a document of 955 published by Marini, *Papiri*, 47 (so Lanciani, *Mélanges cit.* 177; Tomassetti, *Via Latina*, 57, cites as the earliest a Bull of John XII of 962, published by Marini, *ibid.* 47, where the name appears as *fundus qui appellatur Septem Vassi*). The name is generally supposed to be derived from Septimius Bassus, but this is only a conjecture, probable perhaps, but not certain. Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 737) and Tomassetti (*op. cit.* 49, n. 1) believe that this villa was united by Commodus with that of the Quintilii to form one immense property (cf. Herodian, i. 12). Lanciani, *loc.*

[1] The brickstamps found at Sette Bassi by myself and others without particular note having been taken of the part of the villa in which they occurred are *C.I.L.* xv. 18 (110 A.D.), 79 (123 A.D.), 549a (123 A.D.), 630 (about 140 A.D.), 708a (138 A.D.?), 934a. 3 (123 A.D.), 1075a (100–125 A.D.).

cit., without accepting this as necessary, is inclined to recognize in this villa the *fundum Bassi praes(tantem) sol. cxx.* given by Constantine to the Lateran basilica (Duchesne, *Lib. pont.* i. 175), though there is no definite topographical indication given. As a matter of fact, however, these conjectures are by no means certain. What seems clearer is that many of the objects of sculpture found at the end of the eighteenth century at 'Roma Vecchia,' were in reality found in this villa (*supra*, 90). The so-called 'breccia di Sette Bassi' (the classical name of which is unknown) is a fine variegated marble, a considerable quantity of fragments of which have been found in the ruins of this villa. The name was already in vogue in the time of Riccy (1802), *Pago Lemonio*, 80.

Another name which belongs to this building is Palazzo di Lucrezia, the result, no doubt, of a false idea as to the position of Collatia. How far back it can be traced I do not know, and Tomassetti, 67, has no information on the point. *C.I.L.* vi. 177 (a dedicatory inscription)

Fort[unae et]
Tutela[e huius loci]
P . Aelius . . . .
P . P . . . . .
aedem cu[m porticu ?]
a solo r[estituit]

published by Visconti, *Giorn. Arcad.* cxliv. (1856) 3 *seq.* as in the possession of G. B. Guidi, was said to have been found in the tenuta called Lucrezia Romana.

IX.—THE VIA LATINA FROM SETTE BASSI TO CASALE CIAMPINO (*from the Sixth to the Tenth Mile*).

On the mound marked on the map as 74 mètres above sea-level, immediately to the S.E. of the branch aqueduct which supplied the Villa of Sette Bassi (*supra*, 109) is a high square pillar of concrete faced with *opus mixtum*, probably the core of a tomb. Here I found lying loose the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 375 (126 A.D.). To the S.E. of it is a fine brick tomb, just beyond which the Acqua Felice passes under the line of the road. Then comes a water reservoir, of brickwork, with a single chamber, roofed by two quadripartite vaults, and with a window at the N.E. end, and near

the S.W. end of each of the long sides. The walls are supported by external buttresses.

A little further on is another brick tomb in two stories: the lower chamber, now below ground level, has remains of some good decorative painting, but the brickwork of the interior is (as usual) far inferior to that of the exterior. The upper story, the front of which has fallen away, has two slit windows at the back, and two on each side, with a niche between them in the interior.

A brick tomb 'at the ninth mile of the Via Latina' is shown by Uggeri, *Giornata Tuscolana*, tav. iv (from which is taken the illustration in Canina, *Edifizi*, vi. tav. lxxxii). The distance is wrongly given, for there is no such tomb at the ninth mile. The reference must be to this tomb or the one to the N.W. of it.

Further on again is the large concrete core of a tomb in three stories: large blocks of travertine and peperino, tailing back into the concrete, formed the bond between the core and the facing of *opus quadratum*, which has almost entirely disappeared. All the buildings so far noticed lie on the N.E. side of the line of the ancient road, which has in the Staff Map been marked a little too far to the N.E.

On the S.W. side of the road, opposite to this tomb, is a small reservoir of selce concrete, with its single chamber enclosed by very thick walls, and a window on the S.E. Just beyond this the pavement of the road has recently been discovered and removed in making a ditch. Hereabouts I found the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 596 (period of Hadrian) lying loose among the debris of a tomb on the S.W. side of the road.

At point 77 is another tomb, again on the N.E. side of the road line (even though its entrance is on the S.W. side), a large mass of concrete, enclosing a chamber in *opus quadratum*. The seventh mile falls precisely at this tomb.

Near the seventh mile (no further details are given) were found the sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 15270, 21035 (the sixth mile is given in *C.I.L.*, perhaps wrongly), 26680, which were in the possession of the dealer Guidi (C. L. Visconti in *Giorn. Arcad.* cxliv. (1856) p. 49 n. 69). See also *infra*, 141 *sqq.*

After this tomb the road turns very slightly to the N.E.: here the pavingstones have recently been removed, the tufa *crepido* being still left on the N.E. side. A little further on, to the N.E. of the road, are the remains

of a brick tomb, and a little to the S.E., at point 88, a mediaeval tower, close to which are somewhat extensive buildings in *opus reticulatum* and *opus mixtum*, probably of a villa.

Excavations were made by Cardinal de Polignac in 1729 in the tenuta of Gregna, near Torre di Mezza Via ('da Torre di mezza via di Frascati, per andare a Grottaferrata. . . . il terreno è della casa Gregnia di Frascati').[1] The date is given as 1735 by the Berlin *Beschreibung*, No. 353; but this is incorrect, for the Cardinal was in Rome only from 1723 to 1732 (*ibid.* p. vii) or, from 1725 to 1732, as Benndorf (*Athenische Mitteilungen*, i. 169) has it. The correct date of the excavations is given by the frontispiece to L. S. Adam, *Collection de Sculptures antiques*, Paris, 1755, which gives a view of the excavations, with the legend 'Le Temps découvre les ruines du palais de Marius en 1729. L. S. Adam l'aîné de Nancy inv. et fecit. 1754.' The meaning cannot, however, be that all the statues figured in this work came from this one villa; and indeed the notice at the beginning describes the collection as consisting of 68 pieces, found in the ruins of the Palace of Nero on the Palatine, and in those of the Palace of Marius between Rome and Frascati. 'Son Eminence Msgr. le Cardinal de Polignac qui en a acquis la plus grande partie à Rome pendant son Ambassade, les aiant fait conduire en France, les confia au Sr. Lambert Sigisbert Adam, Sculpteur ordinaire du Roi, et Professeur de l'Académie Roiale pour les restaurer. Le Sr. Adam en est devenu propriétaire, les aiant acquis des Héritiers de S.E. Il y a joint plusieurs antiques qu'il s'était procurés à Rome pendant dix ans de séjour.' The collection does not, however, include those in the Museum at Berlin, which were bought at his sale in 1742; and it is not in any way indicated which of Adam's pieces were found in the so-called Villa of Marius.

Pier Leone Ghezzi (*Cod. Ottob. Vat.* 3109, 158 = Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1882, 223, lxi = Schreiber, *Fundberichte des P. L. Ghezzi*, lxxi in *Sächsische Berichte*, 1892, 141) gives a drawing of a basrelief of a man on

[1] Where precisely the site of this excavation is to be sought, is quite uncertain: the buildings of which we have just spoken show signs of having been excavated—but apparently at a more recent date, and perhaps we should rather refer to this site the description of the discovery of a villa in 1830 by Gioazzini, with baths, moderately good mosaic pavements, coloured marbles, bricks with stamps of 123 A.D., two small fluted columns, various fragments of sculpture, and inscriptions of the *gens Calpurnia*—the latter conjectured by Tomassetti 69 n. (who publishes this account from the Atti del Camerlengato, now preserved in the Archivio di Stato, iv. 782) to be perhaps *C.I.L.* vi. 14136, 14168, 14224, 14232 a, all of which are now in the Lateran Museum, their provenance being unknown.

horseback, 'found in the excavation made by the most eminent Cardinal di Polignaschi (Polignac) on the way from Torre di Mezza Via di Frascati to Grottaferrata on the 15th of May 1729, now in possession of that prelate; the ground belongs to the Gregnia family of Frascati, and in this same site he found the eight statues, which are fine, of Greek style, and perfect, and among them the Aesculapius and the goddess Salus, double life-size, and the other six life-size.' The Aesculapius and the Salus are in the Berlin Museum (*Beschreibung der Antiken Skulpturen*, nos. 68, 353)—the latter an empress—Domitia (?)—as Hygeia,[1] and so are twelve others, two statues of Apollo Citharoedus (*ibid.* 49, 50), an Athena with Ericthonius (72), an Euterpe (218), a Polymnia (221), an Urania (222), a woman praying (496), a girl standing (497), a girl kneeling (588), a female statue restored as Calliope (591), a draped female statue (593), a draped female statue now restored as Hygeia (594), making fourteen in all, found on this site. To which six of the twelve Ghezzi refers it is impossible to say. All these fourteen statues were purchased at Polignac's sale in Paris in 1742.

The excavations of 1733, described by Ghezzi (*Cod. cit.* 86) as made 'nelle pianure della Campagnia vicino a Frascati sei miglia' (mem. lxxii) cannot have been very far from Gregna. Here were found a fragment of a stucco relief, with a winged figure, a fragment of a trapezophoron, a head of Socrates (Villa Albani 1040—or else Sala dei Filosofi 4 or 5 in the Capitoline Museum: cf. Bernoulli, *Gr. Ikon.* i. 187, nos. 9, 10), and a double herm of Bacchus and Ariadne (Schreiber, *Fundberichte des P. L. Ghezzi*, lxxii–lxxv). The head of Socrates is said in mem. lxxiv to have been found 'nella villa di Cicerone situata nella sommità dell' antica Città del Tuscolo,' but the site of its discovery is placed with that of the other objects below Frascati in lxxii and lxxv. The double herm was in Ghezzi's time in the Villa Falconieri at Frascati.

The Casale di Gregna itself is built into a water reservoir of brick with buttresses at the angles: to the N.W. of it is a shaft. At point 90 to the S.E., on the N.E. edge of the Via Latina, we find a small rectangular reservoir of bad *opus mixtum* outside and brickwork inside, measuring 4·30 by 1·90 mètre inside.

[1] This statue is omitted by Bernoulli who (*Röm. Ikon.* ii. 264 n. 1) wrongly refers to the plate in Visconti, *Op. Varie*, iv. 34 (cf. p. 385 n. 193) as if it represented the same statue as *Mus. Pio Clem.* iii. 5 (*i.e.* Galleria delle Statue no. 408), whereas it is really the Berlin statue, which was among those taken to Paris by Napoleon.

Shortly after this is the site of the eighth ancient milestone, and a little beyond this point a road leaves the Via Latina in a S.S.E. direction. To the S. of the Marrana it has a branch to the E.N.E. back to the Via Latina at right angles, close to which are a late building in *opus mixtum* below ground level, and the foundations of another in *opus quadratum*. Further S. its width is 2·65 mètres (9 feet), but to the W. of the tower (point 115) it cannot be traced with certainty: it may be fairly assumed, however, that it goes straight on and joins the road going S.S.E. along the Colle Oliva, so as to fall into the Via Cavona (*infra*, 117) and serving a once thickly populated district. To the S.E. at point 107[1] are the scanty remains of a building in *opus quadratum*, brick, and selce; and to the N.E. of this again is a rectangular shaft descending to a rock-cut drain.

The ruins at point 119 (N.N.E. of the old station at Ciampino) are late classical or mediaeval; they are built of irregularly rectangular small blocks of tufa and bricks alternately: there is also some fallen vaulting, and they may possibly be the remains of a reservoir. To the N. of them are scanty remains, among them two possible 'boiler' tombs, which may belong to the road just mentioned; while to the S.E. of them a drain 0·45 mètre wide may be traced in the cuttings of both the Naples and the Frascati lines. To the N.E. of this drain are some traces of a villa, with part of the stone gutter of its peristyle *in situ*, and a shaft connected with underground cisterns: to the S.E. of this is a water reservoir with one chamber, to the E. of which in the valley are some pavingstones, which may fairly be attributed to the road just described.

To the E. of these, N. of point 125, is the debris of a villa, and at point 125 itself a reservoir of good brickwork; while on the other side of the path, just to the S., are other remains in *opus reticulatum* and *opus quadratum*. A dolium which I saw here buried in the ground had a double stamp on the lip, which I could not decipher: scratched on its side were the letters XXXIS. The diameter of the mouth just inside the lip was 0·60 mètre. There was also a good deal of brick debris about, among which I found the stamp *C.I.L.* XV. 1121 a (first century A.D.). S. of the Naples line at point 131 are other ruins; here may be seen a circular shaft with cemented sides, descending no doubt to cisterns hewn in the tufa; while the mediaeval Torraccio is largely built of ancient materials, and debris may be seen to the N. of it.

[1] It lies on the extreme E. edge of Map I, so that only the figure 1 comes in.

Remains of considerable buildings were discovered and largely destroyed just S. of the railway to Frascati to the W. of the assumed course of this road, and to the N.N.W. of point 138. To the N.W. were remains of concrete, then of *opus quadratum* (with columns of tufa 0·35 mètre in diameter, coated with stucco) and *opus reticulatum*, and to the S.E. a comparatively late building in *opus mixtum*, which may have been a mediaeval church. Among the debris (which included much coloured marble) I found a flanged tile bearing the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 577 a (Hadrian).

At point 138 we see what is probably the cutting of another road going off to the N.E. Following it round the N. end of the Colle Oliva, we find that it falls into a line of a road skirting the N.E. slopes of the hill, the pavement of which is *in situ* opposite the Mola Cavona. Between it and the Mola, in the low ground, is much brick and marble debris ; while to the E. of the house at point 164 a branch road appears to ascend to a villa near the top of the hill, which was mostly constructed of *opus quadratum* of peperino ; but there was much debris of all kinds, the ground having been recently broken up for cultivation. I noticed a good deal of marble, part of the lip of a dolium with the letters XXVIIS scratched on it, and two copies of the brick stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1318 b (1st century A.D.). It crosses the Via Cavona and can be traced along the edge of the hill as far as the springs of the Aqua Tepula, now called the Sorgente Preziosa.

The road we have been following from the eighth mile of the Via Latina has some pavement *in situ* to the S.E. of point 138 on the Colle Oliva. It thence went on to the Via Cavona, which it crossed, and fell into the ancient road to Marino at point 225.

The exact point at which the Via Latina crosses the Marrana Mariana [1] near the eighth mile cannot be distinguished on the spot, its banks having been frequently repaired. Some way to the W. of point 94 on its N. bank I saw large blocks of peperino from some massive building—one fragment of a large unfluted column measured no less than 0·75 mètre in diameter.

Fabretti in commenting on Kircher's statement (*Vetus Latium*, 63),

[1] The statuette of a Muse (?) in Ince Blundell Hall no. 19 (Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles*, 341) is said to have been found in the Marrana, but Michaelis expresses considerable doubt as to its genuineness.

which is repeated by Eschinardi (*Agro Romano* ed. Venuti, 273), that the Via Tusculana and the Via Latina were identical, says 'la derivazione della Via Tusculana dalla Latina tra il Casale delle Morene e l'Osteria all' Casalotto circa viiii lapidem è patente' (*Diss. Accad. Cortona*, iii. 226) and shows it as such in his map (*De Aquis*, Diss. I. tab. i, III, tab. i and map opp. p. 90: the latter seems to make it come up by the Ponte S. Maria, and so into the road past Torre de' Micara). I have found the divergence as shown in his map. It leads to the ruins of a villa at point 111 (N. of the twelfth kilomètre of the modern Via Anagnina) largely of late brickwork: water deposit is used in the construction. A retaining wall, however, on the N.E. side of the hill is of large peperino blocks about 0·95 mètre long and follows the contour of the hill. The paving of the road is mostly buried, but a few stones are visible. A branch from it can be traced a little way due N.; but it cannot be traced immediately to the E. of the villa, and does not seem to have led beyond it.

Beneath the hill on which the villa stands passed the subterranean channels of the Aqua Claudia and the Anio Novus: the former was cleared by Calixtus II and made to serve for the passage of the Marrana Mariana or di S. Giovanni (*supra*, 41). Lanciani, *Comentari di Frontino* (*cit.*), 355 (but see the correction in *Bull. Com.*, 1905, 292) calls it actually a work of Calixtus II. As a fact, some *opus reticulatum*, belonging to one of its shafts, is visible at its E. end; and the Acqua Acetosa itself comes through the *specus* of the aqueduct (*Classical Review*, 1900, 322). I have also seen pavingstones at the point where the boundary of the Agro Romano leaves the stream N.E. of Centroni, and just S. of point 112—this road would seem to lead to Fontanile Vermicino, but I do not know of the existence of any connecting link between Centroni and the Ponte S. Maria (on the Frascati railway).

To the N.W. of the first of these two crossings are two tombs like that described in *Papers*, i. 175: the cover consists of a large mass of tufa, somewhat resembling in shape the boiler of a railway engine, with a tablet for the inscription at the side; in one case the inscription is gone (the stone is 2 mètres long): in the other one can only distinguish in the last two lines the letters

IIE
T?IRI · FECIT

The lettering is quite late. The stone is 1·92 mètre long, 0·615 wide, and

the tablet for the inscription measures 0·30 by 0·60 mètre, and projects 0·13 from the round body of the stone.

The ruins at point 108 to the E. of these tombs and N.E. of Centroni are those of a villa of a late period, in which, besides tufa and brick, much water deposit has been used in construction: there are columns of peperino both fluted and unfluted 0·44 mètre in diameter, and below ground a large single chamber reservoir and other vaulted substructions. A drain may be traced along the slope of the valley to the S.E.

After the divergence from it of the road mentioned *supra*, 116, the line of the Via Latina may still be traced, its paving and tufa *crepidines* being clearly seen at the ground level: it runs right along the line of the N.N.E. enclosure wall of the Casale di Morena, in absolute continuation of the straight line which it has hitherto maintained. The E. boundary of the enclosure of the Casale di Morena follows the line of a very large ancient villa: to the N. (just S. of the actual casale) are extensive vaults in *opus mixtum* (probably a reservoir), and further S. are other considerable remains in brick and *opus reticulatum*. Close to the casale stands a sepulchral cippus with the finely cut inscription of Aelia Rodhilla, wife of Antalcides (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2528), whose tombstone (*ibid.*, 2527) was found at Morena in 1773, according to Guasco (*Museo Capitolino*, i. p. 61): cf. *infra*, 120. The inscription expresses a desire that the tomb built by him should belong *ad possessionem fundorum Naeviani et Calpurniani*. Tomassetti, 79, adds that a threshold in the casale is formed of a piece of a sarcophagus, that there are many large tiles bearing stamps in the pavement of the chapel attached to the casale, and that the top of a marble cippus with a Victory bearing a trophy in relief, preserved in 1885 in the garden of the Santovetti family at Grottaferrata, had been transported thither from Morena.

It has not unnaturally been suggested that the name Morena is derived from the Roman *cognomen* Murena, though we may well doubt whether De Rossi (*loc. cit.*) and Tomassetti (*loc. cit.*) are right in supposing that it should be referred to Q. Pompeius Falco, who was the possessor of many other *cognomina* besides, and consider rather that, if it is of Roman derivation at all, it may preserve to us the name of a member of the *gens Licinia* or *Terentia* (Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1884, 188). Nibby, indeed (*Analisi*, ii. 127: cf. *Schede*, i. 51), considers that it might equally well be a survival of the name of Acerbo Morena of Lodi, judge of the

imperial Curia, sent into the environs of Rome by Barbarossa to receive the oath of fealty, though this would be a too transient connexion for its memory to have survived so long, even were it not that Morena is mentioned in several documents of the tenth century, cited by Tomassetti.

'In the so-called villa of Licinius Murena' the bust of Athena from the villa Albani, acquired in Paris in 1816 for the Munich Glyptothek, was found about 1770 (Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, no. 213 and reff.). Whether this indication points to Sette Bassi (*supra*, 97) or to Morena is uncertain; but in the latter case we may probably refer to the same excavations the objects recorded as having been found at Morena by Count Stefano Giraud in 1769—a life-size group of Bacchus and a Faun now in the Vatican (Museo Chiaramonti, 588;[1] cf. Nicolai in *Diss. Accad. Pont. Arch.* iv. 151), some terminal busts (among them the busts of Sophocles (?) and Hippocrates, recorded as having been found here in 1770, which were acquired by Townley, and are now in the British Museum; *Catalogue of Sculpture*, iii. 1831, 1836), Caryatids and other fragments of sculpture (*Fea, Misc.* ii. 211). Lanciani *loc. cit.* quotes *Cod. Tusc. f.* 152 as mentioning excavations made here about 1740 by the Ciampini family, in which many antiquities were found.

Just beyond Morena the Via Latina falls into the line of the modern road, which however winds more than the ancient, and coincides with it, more or less, until the thirteenth kilomètre. The bridge over the Marrana (wrongly marked Aqua Crabra in the Staff Map) is purely modern: the stream, however, at this point is obviously following a natural line—Calixtus II's work did not begin until the Acqua Acetosa—and so there must have been a bridge here in ancient times. De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.* 1872, 89, speaks indeed as though he had seen the Roman bridge still in existence.—'la Marrana è il probabile confine dell' agro Tusculano; il suo ponte dura nell' antico arco di massi di peperino sotto Ciampino nel bel mezzo tra il nono e il decimo miglio, e per ciò lo troveremo chiamato *de nono*; ed ha alla destra [descending from the Alban Hills] i Centroni, alla sinistra il casale di Morena.' No other author, however, mentions it as showing any traces of antiquity. Nibby, *Schede*, i. 51 notes the existence of the *crepidines* of the road from Morena onwards: and there are still many pavingstones in the

[1] It is stated vaguely in Amelung's catalogue that it was found 'in the time of Pius VI.'

field-walls near the thirteenth kilomètre, where there are the remains of a tomb in concrete.

Above the Acqua Acetosa on a prominent spur of selce—the end of a lava stream from the Alban volcano—(the lower strata of which consist of pozzolana, a soft volcanic earth used in the formation of concrete) is the large villa which bears the name of Centroni. Kircher, *Vetus Latium*, 75, gave the ruins the name of the Villa of Lucullus, and professed to give views of them—which are in reality neither more nor less than views of the palace of Severus on the Palatine! Volpi, *Vetus Latium*, viii. 128 reproduced the views published by Kircher, adding to them the plans which Kircher *ibid.* 73 gives of the villa above Fontana Piscaro and the circular piscina to the N.W. of it (*infra*, 135) and wrongly attributing them to Centroni. They have been described by various writers, but I think I am correct in saying that no views or plans of them have hitherto been published, so that those which I give may be welcome. Pl. XI. Fig. 1 is a general view of the villa from the N.W., taken from just above the E. entrance to the tunnel through which the Marrana passes, while Fig. 2 shows a detail of the exterior of the cryptoporticus on this side (*infra*, 122). Pl. XII is a plan (again by Mr. F. G. Newton) of the villa itself, and pl. XIII a plan of the extraordinary passages cut in the hill on which it stands.

The remains at present preserved belong almost entirely to the substructions of the villa. Upon the projecting platform of rock on which it was built there was apparently a smaller knoll or elevation, to which a regular shape was given by building out vaulted chambers so as to form a rectangular platform. At the S.E. end of the villa these chambers are only preserved on the S.W. side, and it may be supposed that there was a projecting wing in this direction. The construction is of concrete, almost entirely faced with small irregular chips of selce; in a few places the calcareous deposit from the aqueducts has been used; but the two apsidal rooms *aa* on the S.W. side are of inferior brickwork, the pieces of brick being short and about 0·03 mètre thick, while the mortar is about 0·017 thick. The passage *bb* is, and apparently always was, somewhat below the level of the ground outside and was probably a cryptoporticus; besides the niches marked on the plan, it has also small recesses 0·30 mètre wide × 0·50 high × 0·30 deep, which also occur in the rooms *ccc*. In the central one of these three rooms two large openings in the S.E. side of the vaulted

roof are shown by dotted lines in the plan. The passage on the N.E. side, *dd*, has three rectangular openings in the roof, each 0·95 × 0·30 in length: the niches corresponding with each opening have a double row of brick voussoirs, each only 0·215 mètre in length, with the extrados covered by tiles; while the room *e* has niches in the S.E. and S.W. walls, and a shaft in the roof 0·90 mètre square.

Further along the N.E. side is a terrace, supported by a lofty wall with buttresses all along: the supporting wall of the platform above is much ruined. At *f* is an entrance by a regular aperture in the lower part of this wall to the quarries in the hill. The terrace extends to the N. angle, and along a short portion of the N.W. side. The buttressed wall then ceases, and we get once more a row of vaulted chambers *gggg*: these have openings on the S.E. leading to other chambers further in (now inaccessible), and also small rectangular windows 0·30 × 0·54 mètre; they have doors into a cryptoporticus *hh* with a large window over each. The exterior of the cryptoporticus is decorated with half columns 0·30 mètre in diameter and 1·40 from centre to centre, from which spring arches with voussoirs of tiles: below the crown of each arch is a round window, and the rest of the space, 0·88 mètre wide and 1·08 mètre high, is filled with alternate bands of courses of brickwork and courses of chips of selce. (Pl. XI. Fig. 2.)

Outside this cryptoporticus is a wide terrace, partly supported by walling, which extends to the edge of the cliffs: the arch which is prominent in the photograph in the middle of the cliffs is at *q* on the plan. *ii* are reservoirs, one of which has a circular aperture for ventilation in the roof: the lower part of the walls in both has been thickened, and the cement lining is well preserved. *k* is a vertical shaft lined with *opus signinum*, and with a quarter round moulding in the angles, which must be connected in some way with the water supply. It was indeed believed by some writers that the whole building was a series of filtering tanks for one of the great aqueducts; and it is interesting to note that Nibby in his original draft of the description of these ruins (*Schede*, i. 51 *seq.*, cf. *ibid.* vi. 3) made in 1821, held this view, but afterwards saw that they were simply the basement of a great villa, and corrected his account in that sense (see *Analisi*, ii. 127). To the S.E. of the villa, and again on the S.W. slope of the hill, are remains of foundations in concrete, belonging no doubt to buildings connected with it.

The earliest mention of the villa in a mediaeval document may be found in the bull issued by John XII to the nunnery of S. Silvestro in Capite in 962, where we find it described as *cryptae arenariae* (a reference to the quarries below) *parietinae diversae et desertae Signino opere coopertae.* But the name Centroni first occurs in a bull of Innocent III, dated 1204, a copy of which is preserved in the Archives of Grottaferrata, where it is mentioned as *Centronem cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, videlicet cum ecclesia S. Andreae* (Tomassetti, 78). It does not seem at all impossible, as Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1884, 189, remarks, that it should be a survival of that of Centronius, of whom Juvenal (*Sat.* xiv. 86 *sqq.*) speaks as one of the most famous of builders of villas in the neighbourhood of Rome in his own day.

> *—aedificator erat Centronius,*[1] *et modo curvo*
> *littore Caietae, summa nunc Tiburis arce*
> *nunc Praenestinis in montibus alta parabat*
> *culmina villarum, Graecis longeque petitis*
> *marmoribus, vincens Fortunae atque Herculis aedem.*

Previously it very likely belonged to the family of the Caecilii, inasmuch as Suarez records the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2498, which gives the *cursus honorum* of Q. Caecilius Marcellus, as having been found *in agro Cryptae ferratae quod Centrone vocant.* (De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.* 1872, 95.)

We may now turn to the remarkable series of pozzolana quarries in the hill upon which the villa is built, a plan of which is given on pl. XIII: the position of the villa relatively to them is shown by dotted lines. That they are of Roman date is indicated by the existence of the entrance *f*, regularly built in the embanking wall, of which we have already spoken; and the sides of the passage to which it leads are for a short distance lined with concrete of the same style as that which is seen in the villa. The same is the case with the passage *m*, the sides of which are entirely faced with concrete up to a certain height, probably from a fear that they might fall in. On the other hand, a drain of the Roman period *nnnn* is cut across by all the passages parallel to *m*, and was therefore anterior in date to these quarries, belonging, perhaps, to some building which stood on the hill before the villa was constructed. The main passages are some 40 feet high

[1] The weight of MS. authority is in favour of *Cetronius* (*cod. Pithoeanus* has *Cretonius* in l. 86, *Cetonius* in l. 92). *Centronius* is found in l. 86, according to Jahn (1851), in some late interpolated MSS., but Mr. C. E. Stuart informs me that he has also found it in *Cod. Casanatensis*, A. v. 27 (now no. 1729), which he believes to be a 13th century MS. of importance.

and 13 feet wide, the minor ones 20 feet and less high and about 11 feet wide. The greater part of the passage which is approached from the entrance *l* has not been entirely excavated, a comparatively small tunnel having been left below, while the upper portion has been all cut away. At *o* is a modern sheep wash; and at *l* and at *ppp* are other entrances, with regard to which it is very interesting to see how carefully the quarries have been arranged so as to exhaust every part of the interior of the hill which it was safe to excavate. Modern pozzolana diggers have not been so careful, with the result that many of the pozzolana quarries round Rome have fallen in, rendering useless a not inconsiderable quantity of land in the neighbourhood of the city.

This great villa was supplied with water by an aqueduct of its own bringing water from springs somewhat further up the hill. It is constructed of chips of selce in the same way as the villa itself: the *specus* is 0·96 mètre wide and 1·00 high to the spring of the vault of its roof. Three arches, half-buried, may still be seen. Lanciani, *Comentari cit.* 324, and tav. vii, fig. 1–5 gives a description and a drawing at a point at which a small aperture 0·16 by 0·22 mètre has been left in the N. E. side of the *specus* for a small branch conduit or for an overflow. A little further S. E. is a rectangular reservoir divided into two chambers by a line of pillars, which he believes to have been the collecting tank for the springs which supplied this aqueduct.

The reservoir is at point 141 on the Staff Map: to the S.E. of it, on the N. E. side of the Via Latina, are the scanty remains of a villa and to the S. W. of the Via Latina (which here runs to the N. E. of the modern road) two tombs in concrete. There is a reservoir (?) of selce concrete (the interior is not accessible) on the N. E. edge of the road, just inside the oliveyard belonging to the Casale Ciampino. Some way to the N. E., at point 142, is a vaulted substruction of selce concrete, belonging to a reservoir or some other small building.[1] The paving of the Via Latina can be seen on the N. W. edge of the Naples railway: at this point is a drain in a quarry on the N. E. edge of the modern road, 0·55 mètre wide. From point 154 onwards the line of the Via Latina is marked by the boundary wall of the oliveyard, which is in part built of the pavingstones taken from it. The site of the tenth mile is reached just before the Casale Ciampino; and with it a new chapter may well be begun.

[1] At point 152, to the E.S.E. again, and just to the W. of the Via Cavona, are remains of foundations in *opus quadratum*, possibly of a farm-house, with scanty brick debris.

X.—CASALE CIAMPINO (AD DECIMUM) AND ITS VICINITY.

The tenth mile of the Via Latina falls, according to my measurements just to the N.W. of the Casale Ciampino.[1] This takes its name from Mgr. Ciampini, a learned prelate of the latter half of the 17th century, to whom it belonged: it is also known as Villa Senni, from its present owner. There is therefore little doubt that the milestone of the Via Latina found by Ciampini bore the number X (*C.I.L.* x. 6881: I may add that the paging of the first edition of Ciampini's *De sacris aedificiis a Constantino Magno constructis* is the same as that of the second, and that the illustration of the milestone with its inscription is given there on pl. XXVII. fig. 1, and not in the text). This is further confirmed by the discovery in 1885 of water pipes bearing the legend *pub. Decimiensium*, i.e. *pub(lica)* [*fistula* or *aqua*] *Decimiensium* (*C.I.L.* xv. 7811). The formula is sufficiently common and well known, and there is of course no truth in the connexion made by some writers (cf. *Cronachetta Armellini*, 1885, 188: Tomassetti, p. 86) between this discovery and the mention of a *F(u)nd(us) Publica in int(egro) Via Latina mil. pl. m. xi* in a charter of Gregory VII (?) relating to the estates belonging to the church of SS. John and Paul (De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.* 1875, 46).

An important inscription found in the Vigna Gentilini, to the S.E. of the Vigna Senni, from which it is divided by the Via Cavona,[2] is published by Lanciani in *Bull. Com.* 1905, 136, and commented upon by Vaglieri. It is carved upon a slab of white marble 0·63 by 0·35 mètre, and runs as follows:

Ex auctoritate S(enatus) p(opulique) Tusculani, M. Lorentius Atticus aed(ilis) aediculam Larum Augustorum vici Angusculan(i) vetustate dilapsam pecuniâ publica a solo restituit—P. Clodii Pauliniani, L. Cominii Secundi aed(ilium) q(uin)q(uennalium) [sc. *anno*] *C. Plotius Bassus Sabinianus praef(ectus).*

The inscription is remarkable in several ways. That Tusculum was

[1] Lanciani's map in *Bull. Com.* 1905, tav. vi makes the tenth mile fall 230 mètres to the S.E. of the crossing of the Via Cavona. But his measurement is taken from the 'bivio di S. Cesario,' at which the Via Latina diverges from the Via Appia, and not, as mine is, from the Porta Capena of the Servian wall, which should surely be the starting point for the reckoning of the distance along the Via Latina, as the gates by which they respectively leave the Servian wall are for the other roads even under the Empire.

[2] For this important ancient road, see *Papers*, i. 176, 236, 240, 242.

among the cities in which the supreme magistrates bore the title of aedile was previously known, but we now learn for the first time that at Tusculum, as at Arpinum, Fundi, and Formiae, they were three in number, two acting as *duoviri iure dicundo*, and one as an aedile in the proper sense. The title originated while these towns were still *praefecturae*: after they obtained full citizenship, the *praefectus iure dicundo* being no longer sent from Rome, the aediles, from subordinate magistrates, became supreme, but still retained their title (see De Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico*, i. 250). The *praefectus* may be a *praefectus sacrorum* (cf. *C.I.L.* xiv. 2580). It is, further, a point gained that we now know with certainty that the territory of Tusculum extended as far as this point (Grossi-Gondi, *Bull. Com.* 1906, 19), a point as to which Dessau (*C.I.L.* xiv. pp. 244, 255 n. 5) was unable to express himself with certainty. The expression of Frontinus, *de aquis*, 8, *aquam, quae vocatur Tepula ex agro Lucullano, quem quidam Tusculanum credunt* (the spring is the modern Sorgente Preziosa), seems to indicate that there was some doubt on the subject in his time.

A second inscription found in the Vigna Gentilini, cut upon a slab of gray marble 1·85 × 0·75 mètre, which may have formed a frieze, probably belongs to this shrine also. It runs as follows:

Ulpia Sophe Marcianae Aug(ustae) lib(erta) consecravit.

Lanciani rightly remarks that it is probable, inasmuch as we find a freedwoman of hers making a dedication in this country shrine that Marciana, the sister of Trajan, herself had property in this neighbourhood, and that it can hardly be mere chance that the name Valle Marciana still belongs to the deep valley traversed by the Marrana, to the S.W. of the Via Latina, a little beyond this point.

Another inscription found in the Vigna Senni in 1888, was published by Lugari in the *Cronachetta Armellini*, 1888, 98 but omitted in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (1892) vii. 355 *seq.* (suppl. to *C.I.L.* xiv). It is given by Grossi-Gondi, *Bull. Com.* 1906, 20, and runs as follows:

Laribus Aug(ustis) C. Vibius Philippus M. Publilius Strato C. Cestius Primio Cultoribus Larum d(e) s(uo) d(onum) d(ederunt) dedicata v. idus Febr. L. Cornelio Sulla Felice Ser. Sulpicio Galba Cos. (9th February, 33 A.D.).

It is inscribed on the front of an altar with the *patera* and *simpulum* on the sides; on each side, further, is the additional inscription

C. Vibius Philippus pavimentum et limen d(e) s(uo) d(onum) d(edit).

The three personages mentioned are no doubt the *magistri vici*: and this title very possibly stood in place of *cultoribus Larum*, which has been inscribed over an erasure—unless indeed the name of a fourth *magister* has for some reason been cancelled. M. Publilius Strato is mentioned in the duplicate inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 2556, 2557: the latter, which is only a fragment, had, one might suppose, been transported in later times to this place, where it was found in December, 1873 ('in una vigna tra Borghetto e Ciampino, ove sono i ruderi di un antico monumento sepolcrale'),[1] while the former, found in 1857 between Frascati and Grottaferrata below the Vigna Cavalletti, was entire. I may add that it was the same inscription now given by Grossi-Gondi which I saw and copied in December 1899. The incorrect statement made by Lanciani in *Bull. Com.* 1905, 133 on my authority is due to my failure to find my notes at that time. In them I find no record of any inscription of the *Decimienses*, so that my memory misled me.

Grossi-Gondi, in my opinion, is right in connecting these three inscriptions, and referring them to the same building, the last being anterior in date to the other two. In regard to the first, Grossi-Gondi is wrong in supposing that the plural *Larum Augustorum* obliges us to place it in a period when there was more than one Augustus: for *Augustorum* is an adjective, not an independent genitive; while the second is fixed by the mention of Marciana to the early part of the second century A.D.

On the other hand, his amplification of the inscription which he gives on p. 21 n. 1. *C. Volumni C. L.* | *Salv. L.* | *Poenica L. de s.* | *fecit ov* is, I think, erroneous. He reads *C(ai) Volumni C(ai) L (?) Salv(ius) L(ibertus) Poenica, L(imen) de s(uo) fecit*, interpreting Poenica of the pavement, and comparing Festus (p. 242 Müll.) *pavimenta Poenica marmore Numidico constrata significat Cato cum ait in ea* (sc. *oratione*) *quam habuit, ne quis Cos. bis fieret: 'dicere possum, quibus villae atque aedes aedificatae, atque expolitae maximo opere citro atque ebore atque pavimentis Poenicis stent.'* It is more probable that it should be interpreted thus:

C(aius) Volumni(us) C(ai) l(ibertus) Salv(ia) l(iberta) Poenica l(iberta) de s(uo) fecit ov.

The meaning of the last two letters is not perfectly clear, and *fecit* is of course a mistake for *fecerunt*.

[1] For this tomb see *infra*, 130.

The fact that the first and third inscriptions were found on different sides of the Via Cavona does not prove anything against Grossi-Gondi's theory: the first is on a comparatively small slab, easily transported, and the precise place, date, and circumstances of its discovery are unknown. And in any case I think he is probably right in believing that the Vicus Angusculanus and the Respublica Decimiensium were one and the same community, and not two different communities at such a short distance from one another. As a fact the post-station no doubt stood at the point where the Via Cavona crossed the Via Latina, and in all probability on both sides of the former, even if, as Lanciani believes (*Bull. cit.* 131, 135), the Via Cavona was technically the boundary of the territory of Tusculum.

A third inscription of the Vigna Gentilini, given by Lanciani (*Bull. Com.* 1905, 141) runs as follows:

. . . io T. f. Papir(ia) Rufi[nus Vi]nicius Opimianus [v(iro) c(laris-simo) pro]c(onsuli), or *[v(iro) e(gregio) pro]c(uratori), provinc(iae) Asiae et [. . . . .]iae C. f. Iustae [parent]ibus dulcissimis ac pientissimis [. . . . .]s Opimianus filius.*

Now the inventory of the estates of the monastery of S. Erasmus on the Caelian (cf. Gatti, *Bull. Com.* 1902, 165), which dates from the seventh century, mentions Ὠπιάνον and φοῦνδος Ἀφρικάνις. The Latin translation gives the form Opinianon. A ninth century (or twelfth century, according to Tomassetti, p. 85 n. 1) document inserted in the *Regesto Sublacense* (ed. Allodi and Levi n. 69) records the purchase of *decem in integro uncias fundus qui appellatur Africani, positas territorio tusculano, iuxta Via Latina, miliario ab urbe Roma plus minus decimo*, and among the adjacent properties is mentioned the *fundus qui appellatur Oppiniani, iuris praedicti monasterii emptoris. Opinianum* also occurs in the list of estates of the abbey of Subiaco (to which the property of S. Erasmus passed) upon the inscription of 1053 in the cloister of S. Scholastica. Grossi-Gondi (*Bull. cit.* 26 *seq.*) maintains, and in all probability rightly, that the name had survived from classical times; and he infers (inasmuch as the inscription is not a large one, and probably therefore did not belong to any particularly important tomb among the considerable group which flanks the Via Latina at this point) that the Vinicii Opimiani possessed a villa in this district—very possibly the large villa a little to the S.E. marked in Lanciani's map (*Bull. cit.* 1905, tav. vi) at 200 mètres above sea-level, in the Vigna Costanza Senni. If the supplement *viro clarissimo proconsuli* be accepted, this Vinicius

Opimianus may be the same Opimianus (the rest of his name is not known) who was *consul ordinarius* from Nov. 3, 155 A.D. The title *vir clarissimus* had already come in about the end of the first century (Hirschfeld, *Sitz.-Ber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1901, 579). Instances in which the highest office held is alone given in sepulchral inscriptions are not unknown. If, on the other hand, Vaglieri is right in preferring *viro egregio procuratori*, the inscription should perhaps be placed a little later, as the title *vir egregius* does not appear before the time of Marcus Aurelius (Hirschfeld, *Kaiserliche Verwaltungsbeamten*, 451).

Other inscriptions found in the Vigna Gentilini are the fragmentary inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2503 (erected in honour of a governor of an unknown province, who was also *iuridicus* of Aemilia and Liguria, and found 'a little above Ciampino on the left of the modern road at the point where there are two ruins of tombs,' obviously those in the Vigna Gentilini) and 2526, 2532, 2561—also a slab bearing an elaborate *tabula lusoria*, of which only the lower third is preserved, with the inscription *Valens vincas* (Lanciani, *Bull. cit.* 142). There are still scanty remains of buildings visible in the vineyard, including a portion of the baths—a piscina 22·0 mètres long and a semicircular basin for a hot bath 8 mètres in diameter, with two steps running round it, paved with mosaic, and with a furnace for heating it below it. In this bath are collected several large flanged tiles bearing stamps, of which Lanciani gives *C.I.L.* xv. 226 (M. Aurelius), 424 (M. Aurelius or Caracalla), 499 (123 A.D.), 567 (138 A.D.), 2251 (1st century A.D.); also the lip of a dolium with the stamp *C.I.L. ibid.* 2512 (end of 1st or beginning of 2nd century A.D.)[1] To these I may add *ibid.* 1172 (1st century A.D.). It is not improbable that these all come from later burials 'a capanna.'

The whole of the vineyard is full of remains of buildings belonging to this *vicus*, as could clearly be seen in the cutting for the electric tramway to the Alban Hills, which leaves the highroad directly after passing the Casale Ciampino. A double herm of *rosso antico* marble was found here and sold in 1853 to the Marchese Cavalletti; a broken *tazza* of the same material, and architectural fragments of marble have also been discovered.

[1] This had been noted here by Maldura and Stevenson (*C.I.L. in loc.*: cf. *ibid.* xiv. 4093, 11a, where 1813 is given, by a misprint, for 1873, as the date at which Maldura copied it). Stevenson also noted here the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 792. 2 (Faustina the younger) 1121a. 13 (1st century A.D.).

There have also been found remains of the Christian period, including a fragment of a glass vessel with figures in gold, described by Lugari; and at the house in the vineyard small columns and capitals, the remains of a *ciborium* of the sixth or seventh century A.D., are preserved, belonging no doubt to a church erected above the catacomb, which lies, as far as the present owners of the vineyard can remember, exactly beneath the tramway, and was reached by a staircase of 36 steps (Lanciani, *Bull. cit.*, 140, 142).

In the vineyard below Borghetto (whether the Vigna Gentilini or another somewhat further to the S.E. is meant, it is difficult to say) was found the curious inscription published by De Rossi, *Piante icnografiche*, 40; *Bull. Inst.* 1879, 73: *Reg(ione) vii at tres silanos at v* (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2496). It was inscribed upon a small marble column, upon the top of which was a hollow for a lead bolt, showing that it once supported a statue. The column had in later times been reversed, and the inscription repeated in inferior characters. The first line no doubt refers to the seventh Augustan region of Rome, but how the inscription came to be found here is quite uncertain. It is now in the museum of the abbey of Grottaferrata.

Between the Casale Ciampino and Borghetto a tomb was discovered on the left in December 1873; some of the triangular bricks of which it was constructed bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 583 b. 30 (126 A.D.). The reference is very likely also to the Vigna Gentilini, or to the next to the S.E., the Vigna Costanza Senni, as to the S.E. of this only remains of villas are visible up to Borghetto. In these two vineyards the remains of four tombs may still be seen above ground—they are indicated by Lanciani, *Bull. cit.* tav. vi and in our Map II, and remains of others were discovered in cutting the new tramway line. These, and the rest of the course of the Via Latina, will be described in the second section of this paper.

In the Vigna Giusti, on the opposite side of the modern road to the Vigna Senni, but not divided from it in ancient times, remains of a shrine or temple were found in the 'nineties: no record or plan of the discoveries was taken, but as Lanciani states (*Bull. Com.* 1905, 133) remains of a cornice of white marble were to be seen in the vineyard, and a large number of terracotta votive objects had been found. Some of these are now in the museum at Grottaferrata: fragments of many others were to be seen in the field-wall enclosing the vineyard; and it also contained pavingstones from the road and debris, including the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 596 c, 683 (Hadrian), 1052 (after 133 A.D.), 1194.4, 1244 (end of the 1st century), 1430

(127 A.D.), 1434 (128 A.D.) from a villa a little way to the W., the remains of which may be seen on both sides of the Frascati railway. Its water reservoir was first discovered in 1854, when the railway was made, and partially destroyed in 1883, when a selce quarry was enlarged. (*Not. Scav.* 1883, 212.)

Similar ex votos were dug up in 1885–6 in the Vigna Ciampini, now Senni, and no doubt belonged to the same deposit. In the latter vineyard too were found according to Lugari's description 'several ancient roads, paved with blocks of selce, which led towards the Via Latina, seeming to converge as though to join the latter at one point, not far from the 'palazzetto' (i.e. the Villa Senni). Flanking these roads, besides the usual tombs, were remains of ancient buildings, reservoirs, terracotta pipes for water supply, and a quantity of fragments of amphorae and dolia, all collected at one point.' As Lanciani remarks, it is a great misfortune that we have no proper record of the plan and details of these discoveries in a country village of Roman times. De Rossi in *Ann. Inst.* 1873, 220, spoke of important discoveries made while he was writing, which he never described, and of which his notes now in the Vatican Library contain no mention.

Between the villa and the temple a branch road diverged from the Via Latina to the Via Cavona, and its pavement may still be seen in the railway cutting (cf. *Not. Scav.* 1884, 348). Rocchi (*Il Diverticolo Frontiniano dell' Acqua Tepula*, Rome, 1891) maintains that it ran on to the springs of the Aqua Tepula (the Sorgente Preziosa), but no definite traces of it appear to exist in the Valle Marciana.

The inscriptions found in the Vigna Ciampini or Senni (cf. *supra*, 125) are mainly sepulchral. They comprise *C.I.L.* xiv. 2504 (*P. Aelius Hilarus Augg. lib., qui proc(uravit) Alexandriae ad rationes patrimonii)*, 2529, 2530, 2548 a, 4229 a, c, and others given by Tomassetti, 85, note and Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1905, 134, which are unimportant. 2553, on the other hand, which is on the other side of the slab on which is 2529, is interesting. It runs, *Olla i. Secundae. Fatales moneo nequis me lugeat Orbi namque Secunda fui nunc tegor e cinere. Hic ego securis iaceo super omnibus una Natalis quia nos septimus ussit amor. Natalis monumenti iii idus Maias.* Henzen, *Bull. Inst.* 1865, 252, explains it thus: Secunda was the wife of one Orbius Natalis, and he was her seventh husband (Wilmanns, *ex. inscr.* n. 575, explains the phrase *quia nos septimus ussit amor* with more probability as meaning that the two had been married seven years): *fatales = mortales, securis = mortuis. Ibid.* 2536, 2537 (a cippus of tufa, with

a sepulchral inscription to one Claudius Irenicus, which, from the existance of an anchor on each side of it, De Rossi (*Bull. Crist.* 1872, 98) believes to be Christian), 2542, 2546, 2549, 4229 b are merely recorded as existing there. 2549 was erected by M. Lucceius Ephebicus to the memory of his wife Valeria Frugifera and himself. Tomassetti (p. 84, n. 1) wishes to place near here the villa of the Lucceii. But the discovery of a single sepulchral inscription proves hardly anything, even if its exact provenance were known; and Cicero (*Ad Fam.* v. 15) writes to L. Lucceius, the historian, as his near neighbour at Tusculum and at Puteoli. I have also noted myself at the Casale Ciampino a mortarium with the inscription

DOMT
VĀRI

on each side of the spout, and a headless seated Egyptian statuette, now in the museum at Grottaferrata.

The S.E. enclosing wall of the villa, towards the Via Cavona, is built upon the remains of a building in brickwork (Nibby, *Analisi*, i. 461; Tomassetti, 85, n.). Nibby, *Schede*, i. 53, notes the existence of this, and of a fine capital outside the villa, and of several drums of columns fluted and unfluted, fragments of a marble ceiling, a sarcophagus, etc.

To the N.N.E. of the Casale Ciampino, in the rubbish from the vineyard, Mr. Baddeley found the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1102 a (end of the 1st century A.D.). Giorgi in 1733 copied the stamps *ibid.* 374. 15 (about 123 A.D.), 630 b. 8 (about 140 A.D.) upon some tiles near the winecellar of the vineyard; and *ibid.* 1446 b. 4 (1st century A.D.) was also found here —it is recorded by De Rossi; while *ibid.* 372 b (Severus) and 375 (126 A.D.) are recorded as having been discovered near Ciampino, as the place is now often called.

A curious passage in Pococke's notes on the neighbourhood of Rome (*Travels*, in B.M. *Add. MS.* 22981, 59) is worth giving here: 'a quarter of a mile further (than Centroni) from Rome are the remains of the Propylaea of the Romans: it is on a little eminence: they had dug for stones in a foundation which seemed by the shape of it to be that of the Portico. There is a fine prospect from it. Another mile or more to Borghetto.' To what the description refers I have no notion, unless it be to some building at Ciampino. In this case, however, the distance from Centroni is minimized, while that to Borghetto is exaggerated;

and perhaps we must suppose that it refers to some of the ruins to the S.E. of the 13th kilomètre (*supra*, 124).

XI.—FROM THE CASALE CIAMPINO TO THE VILLA NEAR FONTANA PISCARO.

The Via Cavona may in the main be treated as the limit of this first section of the description of the Via Latina, especially as it very probably marks, for a certain part of its course, the boundary of the territory of Tusculum. I shall only overstep this limit in one instance, in order to describe the remains of an important villa situated to the E. of the Fontana Piscaro, and on the S.W. side of the path from the Torre di Micara to Frascati, and the remains met with on the way to it.

Eschinardi (*Esposizione della carta topografica Cingolana dell' Agro Romano*, Rome, 1696, 361 ; cf. Venuti's edition of 1750, p. 264) notes the existence along the Via Cavona, not far from the Vigna Ciampini, of a *columbarium* with the urns in pairs. He does not say, however, whether it was to the N.E. or the S.W. of the Via Latina. The point where the latter crosses the Via Cavona is, it may be noted, 40 paces to the N.E. of the modern highroad.

Nibby, *Schede*, i. 54, notices traces of pavement in the path from the Casale Ciampino to the Torrione di Micara, which he calls the Via Tusculana, believing that it left the Via Latina at Casale Ciampino, joined the modern Via Tuscolana near the Villa Borsari, passed by Capo Croce, and thence ran to Camaldoli and so up to Tusculum.

The path from Casale Ciampino soon diverges from the Via Cavona and descends somewhat rapidly to the N.E. ; and after crossing a small valley it reascends at the N.W. end of the Colle Papa. Here it turns at right angles, and runs due E. for a little : it has a short branch path to the N.E., which may follow an ancient line, as there are paving-stones (as well as the debris of buildings) in the field-wall along it ; while the easternmost of the two houses on the Colle Papa is built upon the remains of a small ancient building of fine brickwork with very thin courses of mortar, probably a tomb. The front, decorated with pilasters, was on the W. The length of the exterior was 6·80 mètres, and the width apparently about the same. To the S.W. of it are ancient substructions, of a villa, probably. Rather further E. the path is crossed by two

modern (?) walls which are to be seen in it at the ground level: and shortly afterwards it intersects at right angles a path which comes from the modern Via Tuscolana (which, as we have said, almost certainly follows an ancient line after its intersection with the Via Cavona, even if it does not do so before) and which itself forms to my mind a necessary line of communication, though there are no traces of antiquity upon it.

To the S.W. of it (marked 'Sepolcro' in the Staff Map) is the large tomb known as the Torre di Micara (Micara being the name of its present owner). Pl. XIV. Fig. 1 gives a view of it taken from the S. with a telephotographic lens; and a plan of it is given by Uggeri, *Giornata Tuscolana*, tav. v (repeated by Angelini and Fea, *Via Latina* tav. iv, Canina, *Tusculo*, tav. xxvi, *Edifizi*, vi. tav. lxxxii). It consists of a circular wall of *opus quadratum*, with false joints: the entrance is on the N.E. side: the blocks of stone are 0·59 mètre (about two Roman feet) high, and the total height of the wall is 8·43 mètres, the base up to the moulded plinth being 2·37 high, the plinth 0·72, the wall up to the cornice 4·74, and the cornice 0·60 mètre high, according to the measurements of Nibby, *Schede*, i. 65; cf. *Analisi*, iii. 356. Above the cornice are Guelphic battlements, the building having been turned into a fortress in the Middle Ages (Tomassetti, 251). On the S.E. side is a block of marble, easily seen in the photograph: it bears no inscription, and Nibby considers that it was inserted after the original construction. The internal diameter is 26·68 mètres (120 palms), and the interior is empty, except for three chambers and two recesses of fine brickwork on the S.W. side, opposite the door, with a corridor in front of them, in which were stairs leading to the terrace above the roofs of the sepulchral chambers: the latter follow the curve of the main outer wall, while the N.E. wall of the corridor is straighter. A mediaeval house has been built into these chambers. The foundation on which the tomb rests is circular, except on the S.W. side, where it is rectangular.

Tomassetti 252 n. records the existence of various fragments of sculptures inside the Torrione di Micara, and of two fragments of inscriptions—the first runs . . . : [*ma*]*tri eius* . . . | [*cari*]*ssimae* . . . . . | . . . *fuit* . . . | . . [*sine gu*]*erella* . . . . | . . . . *ve* . . . . ; while the second built into the wall of the mill outside, he republishes in *Bull. Com.* 1895, 164: it is a fragment of a large monumental inscription

. . . *us* . . . | *tr* . *p* . . .

Nibby also describes (*Schede*, i. 66) the remains of a large reservoir on the E. of this tomb, half-buried, built of chips of selce, and consisting of five chambers; these intercommunicate by means of arches in their side walls, the central chamber having eight arches in each side wall, while in the other two dividing walls there are only seven. These arches are not placed opposite to one another, but diagonally, as in the reservoir of the Domus Aurea of Nero, known as the Sette Sale, 'so as to prevent the violent rush of water from one receptacle to the next' (Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 365). One of the lateral halls was about 96 feet in length. The reservoir has been once more fitted for its original use, and now has a stable built over it, so that it is no longer accessible.

On the opposite side of the road going S.E. Nibby (*Analisi, cit.*) mentions the remains of another tomb not now visible; a little further up is a villa platform of selce concrete, facing 40° W. of N., with somewhat scanty remains of construction upon it. On a low platform rising behind this one is a circular tomb, a plan of which is given by Uggeri *cit.* and his copyists (on the same plate as that of the Torre di Micara). The exterior, of concrete, shows no traces of its original form, but was perhaps faced with blocks of peperino, of which a few were seen by Nibby: the interior is circular, 9·10 mètres in diameter, with eight niches, and faced with *opus reticulatum* of selce. The tomb according to Nibby (*Schede*, i. 67) was surrounded by a rectangular enclosure. The two walls projecting on the N.E., shown in the plan, are still traceable.

On the S.W. side of the path are the remains of a large villa, extending from the N. of the word 'Luogo' in the map as far S. as point 214, and supported by projecting platforms: in many places the actual substruction walls have almost entirely disappeared, or been concealed by earth, but at one point they rise to a height of some 20 feet, and are of concrete faced with rough *opus incertum* of selce. To the E. is a large circular open reservoir, 45·70 mètres in diameter and about 6 feet deep.

To the S.E. of this reservoir and to the N.E. of the Fontana Piscaro, are the substructions of another very large villa. A plan of the N.W. portion is given by Kircher, *Vetus Latium*, 73, which, though the general form of the structure is grasped, is by no means correct in details. He describes it rightly as in the Vigna Varesi: but the plan was repeated by Volpi, *Vetus Latium*, viii. p. 128, and wrongly referred to Centroni (*supra*, 121). Another plan was made by Canina (cf. his *Tuscolo*, p. 137, n. 31)

and published by Uggeri, *Giornata Tuscolana*, tav. vi: it was repeated by Angelini and Fea, *Via Latina*, tav. v, and by Canina himself (*op. cit.* tav. xxviii). It would have been fairly correct in its general outlines, had it not been that the wall *nn* was mistaken by him for the wall *ll*, when he came to draw out the plan at home, without verifying it on the spot—with the result that the space *m* is entirely omitted. The outer walls, too, are quite wrongly represented; while it is impossible to say what evidence he had for representing the space *g* as partly occupied by a chamber in the same line as *hh*, and for the rest by three parallel chambers from N.E. to S.W., inasmuch as we were unable to pass through any of the walls which enclose it. It seems to me suspiciously like a piece of arbitrary reconstruction. I have therefore had the plan on Plate XV drawn by Mr. F. G. Newton, under my own supervision, and I think it will be found to be quite correct.

The remains consist almost entirely of the substructions upon which the villa was built, traces of the latter being preserved only at *b*, where one wall still retains some red plaster *in situ*; while *a* is a small portion of a terrace wall on the upper level. What we have before us, too, is in the main an addition subsequent to the original construction, the only part of the building belonging to this being the cryptoporticus *cccc* and the walls *dd*, *e*. The former has been divided into two parts by the insertion of a later supporting wall. It is, however, still well preserved; it is constructed of *opus reticulatum*, and is lined with hard white cement: a row of fluted peperino columns, 1·30 mètre from centre to centre, and 0·30 in diameter, ran down the middle of it, and it was lighted by small slit windows. The columns are not all uniform: in one case we have a peperino column, 0·45 in diameter, fluted only in the upper part, and without a capital; the rest have Roman Doric capitals.

The concrete walls *dd* also belong to this earlier period, but part of the northeasternmost of them supports also the S.W. wall of the chamber *f*. Between them was an entrance into the space *g*, now filled up: at present they are not preserved to more than a few feet in height. The wall *e* is not preserved above the ground level of the chamber in which it lies: it is faced with *opus reticulatum* on the S.E., and rough *opus mixtum* on the N.W. The relation of these walls to one another is naturally not now apparent.

At a later period, the area of the villa was greatly increased by a very considerable extension of its platform to the S.W. The extensive

substructions which were found necessary are shown in black on the plan. They are mainly in concrete without regular facing, *opus reticulatum* being only used on the exterior and in the cryptoporticus. The N.W. front is no less than 166·50 mètres in length, and the S.W. front 163 mètres between the extreme points; while the front of the projecting portion is 123·50 mètres in length. Outside it is a level space (a garden no doubt) 20 mètres wide, after which comes a low cliff in the selce formation.

The facing wall is decorated with half columns of *opus reticulatum*, with semicircular arches between them, and a flat architrave above; but in the only parts where it is well preserved the presence of trees renders it impossible to obtain a satisfactory photograph of it. Behind it, along part of the N.W. and S.W. sides, runs a space, *iiii*, which appears to have been merely constructional (though divided by partitions at its S.E. end, where it is vaulted, while elsewhere no traces of its roof are to be seen), inasmuch as behind it again is a large cryptoporticus, *kkkk'k''*, 4·13 mètres in width, and some 5·50 mètres in height (about 3·50 mètres to the spring of the arch) lighted by windows at the spring of the vault; it continues further still to the N.W. and to the S.E. round two sides of the open space *m*, which appears to have been a garden terrace. At *k''* it is about 0·57 mètre narrower, and was very possibly lower: whether this latter was the case at *k'* also is uncertain.

At *o* walls in *opus mixtum* (shown with cross hatching) have been added: the chamber thus formed has a flat concrete roof, with the marks of the boards used for setting it still visible; and at *p* there has been a similar chamber. The long passage *q* is reached by an irregular opening and is simply a part of the substructions, and its total length cannot be traced, as it is partly filled up with earth: the chambers on the right and left of it fulfilled a similar function, and like it were probably entirely closed and inaccessible: certainly they were not in any way lighted or ventilated. To the N.E. of *r* there are indications of the existence of another chamber, which cannot now be reached.

We may next turn to examine the interior of the substructions of the N.W. portion of the villa. At the N.W. end are five rooms, of which *sss* were lighted by windows from the upper level, and had doors into *k*: their vaulted roofs still retain traces of painting. The two rooms N.E. and S.W. of them, on the other hand, have no traces of decoration or of lighting

arrangements. Behind these five rooms are six long lofty chambers, which only served as substructions (some of them have apertures just below the crown of the vault at the S.E. end, which may be ancient, but are otherwise almost entirely dark), and to the S.E. of them is the inaccessible space *g*, which may be very largely filled with solid earth or rock. To the S.E. again is a complicated system of chambers, well preserved and of considerable height, which can only be entered by a door on the S.E., 1·35 mètre in width. They had no arrangements for lighting or ventilation and must have been mere substructions.

To the N.E. again we may notice that after the suppression of the cryptoporticus *cccc*, a vault was carried from *t* to *u* and another from *u* to *v*. The N.E. wall of *f* seems to be earlier (it may be only a question of days) than this vaulting, though itself posterior to the construction of the barrel vault of *f*. The gap *w*, which now serves as an entrance from *k''*, near the E. angle of *f*, was originally only a niche, and the E. angle of *f* itself has been broken through. The long walls of *f* have strengthening below the spring of the vault, and the chamber may have served as a water reservoir.

The corridor *k'* also shows traces of reconstruction in the centre: the space of the vaulting has been widened, and the S.W. wall reinforced; while the windows which probably existed on the N.E. side appear to have been closed.

The remains which are met with to the S.E. of this point will be fully dealt with in the second section of this paper. We must now return to the point where we left the modern Via Tuscolana (*supra*, 55) and carry our examination of it as far as the point where it intersects the Via Cavona.

XII.—THE SECOND SECTION OF THE VIA TUSCOLANA (FROM THE TENUTA DEL QUADRARO TO THE INTERSECTION WITH THE VIA CAVONA).

To the W.S.W. of the sixth kilomètre of the Via Tuscolana, and N. by E. of the Casale di Roma Vecchia (*supra*, 85), at point 62 on the map, are the scanty remains of an extensive villa: besides the debris, there are actually standing a rectangular reservoir of late brickwork, raised upon substructions, and a wall of *opus reticulatum*, with an opening in it some

way above ground level, and with quoins of tufa blocks: the latter is the central wall of a reservoir in two stories, with two chambers in each, of which nothing else remains. Close to it we saw two parallel lines of earthenware water-pipes with socket joints (internal diameter 0·13 mètre).

To the E. nearer the road is another reservoir. To the N.E. of the sixth kilomètre, on the W. of a small stream, where the map marks 'Ruderi,' are the scanty remains of an aqueduct in *opus mixtum*, two courses of tufa to one of brick in the two original piers of the one arch which alone remains, and three to one in the filling of the arch, and the reconstructed facing on the north side. It can be traced going up the slopes on each side of the valley. Just to the S. of and parallel to it ran a road, which cannot be followed much further W; but a few loose pavingstones seem to indicate its course to the S.E., though beyond point 47 it is somewhat uncertain, and beyond point 63 it is only shown conjecturally. The number of buildings which it would pass is, however, not inconsiderable, and this is certainly a point in favour of our assumption.

On the hill to the E. of the aqueduct are traces of an extensive villa (much destroyed by cultivation) with fine decorations in coloured marbles and alabasters: only one brickstamp was found, consisting of 5 concentric circles, the largest 0·035 mètre in diameter (cf. *Supplementary Papers of the American School at Rome*, i. p. 79, nos. 6, 16, 18). The granite columns, fragments of statuary and white marble Corinthian capitals which are to be seen at a new farm-house between this villa and Osteria del Curato were very likely found here. To the S.E. are fragments of the cement lining of a reservoir, and pieces of aqueduct deposit—probably, therefore, there was here the settling tank for the aqueduct, which would naturally have come by a subterranean channel from one of the great aqueducts some way to the W., though it cannot be traced further in this direction by its deposit. To the N.N.E. of this villa, and W.N.W. of Torre Spaccata (which is mediaeval, as are also the ruins at point 65) are the remains of another villa, in which I found the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1527 *M. Vinici Crescentis* (1st century A.D.).

To the S.E. the road descended to point 47, where it crossed the stream: here are loose fragments of brick, selce, and marble, and a brick wall—probably part of a tomb along the road; and a little to the S. is a wall in *opus quadratum* (possibly belonging to another tomb) about 4·50 mètres in length. On the hill above is the debris of a villa. In the

valley at point 55 is a lofty concrete core which is certainly that of a tomb: it seems to have had four external niches. There is also brick debris in the valley. To the E. on the hill side is a vaulted chamber of *opus mixtum*, and to the E. again are other remains.

To the E.N.E. is the so-called Muraccio dell' Archetto, which is an arch at the N.E. end of a large villa platform, of which but little is left. To the S. of this, just above the stream, are the scanty remains of yet another large villa with two terraces, in which the use of aqueduct deposit as material for construction may be noted: the building at point 74 probably belonged to it also. Other debris may be seen to the S.E. of point 63, on the S.W. edge of the assumed line of the road.

To the S.E. is another aqueduct, crossing, at point 68, a small stream from W. to E. (see *Papers* i, map III: it is also marked 'Ruderi' on the extreme E. edge of map I of the present volume). The piers, built of *opus mixtum* of small rectangles of tufa and brickwork in alternate courses (the brickwork is sometimes in bands of two or three courses) support arches with brick and tufa voussoirs of varying span—in most cases about 2·50 mètres, but in two as much as 6 mètres—while *opus reticulatum* also occurs. The partial filling of some of the arches is in concrete faced with brick. A view of the central part of it where it crosses the stream is given in Pl. X, Fig. 1. There is hardly any deposit about, and what building it supplied is uncertain, as its further course cannot be traced. It is indicated by Fabretti as *ductus aquae Algentianae, ut credimus* (Diss. I, tab. i. and p. 149), but he confesses that he could find no further traces of it nearer Rome and, besides, wrongly connects it with that E. of Muro Linari, which must be at a level some 30 mètres higher (*infra*, 146): for here the *specus* is 3·50 mètres above the ground level (64 mètres), *i.e.* 67·50 altogether, whereas there it is 7·80 mètres above the ground level (91 mètres), *i.e.* 98·80 altogether.

To the S.S.W. of it are large peperino blocks belonging possibly to a tomb; and to the S.W. again, lying loose, a fragment of a finely sculptured column base in marble about 2 feet high, and richly decorated; above comes the reel and button pattern, then acanthus leaves pointing downwards, and then a roll of laurel leaves bound with ribbon.

To the S. of the aqueduct are the remains of a building in concrete, faced with small rectangular blocks of tufa, which was perhaps a reservoir (marked as 'R' on the edge of the map). A portion of it, that which is

now best preserved, is sunk below ground level. It consists of three barrel vaulted chambers side by side, all opening upon a rectangular space in front of them: the central one measures about 9 mètres long by 4 wide, and has a niche at the end and two at each side: the chambers at each side are connected with it by narrow openings, and are each about 4·50 mètres long and 4·50 wide (right hand chamber) and 6·20 (left hand) respectively: they are rectangular with a curved niche at the further end. The rectangular space upon which they open runs 25 degrees S. of E. and has at its narrow end four terracotta pipes fixed into its wall, which is in brick and *opus reticulatum*. The floor level—even the spring of the arches—is covered by the accumulation of earth. Upon the top of the vaulted chambers there has been a reservoir, the floor of which would have been at the modern ground level; its front wall was about 3 feet thick. From the front wall of the chambers project travertine corbels, possibly to support a wooden floor, and in the centre of the space between each pair of them are holes which may have served to take the ends of joists.

To the E. of the aqueduct described above is debris apparently belonging to a large villa: a considerable amount of marble may be seen, especially to the S.W. of point 76, including a fine marble cornice block 0·62 mètre high, which formed part of an epistyle, being sloped off on each side to fit the next block.

On the Via Tuscolana itself there is, in the meantime, hardly anything of interest. Tomassetti, *Bull. Com.* 1895, 164, records an unimportant sepulchral inscription, built into the pavement of the chapel at the Osteria del Curato, close to the 8th kilomètre; but the provenance of it is, of course, not certain, and the same is the case with a Roman handmill and some marble columns, which may be seen at the Osteria also.

The extensive ruins of a villa, situated to the S.W. of the Osteria, which bear the name of Sette Bassi, are fully described *supra*, 97 *sqq.*

Excavations made by Gagliardi in the tenuta of Roma Vecchia near the Via Latina and the Osteria del Curato, along an ancient *deverticulum* from the Via Latina to the Via Labicana in April 1862 led to the discovery of the sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 1360 *C. Baebio Cn.* [*f.*] *Tampilo Valae Numoniano q(uaestori) pr(aetori) proco(n)s(uli) iii vir(o) a(ere) a(rgento) a(uro) f(lando) f(eriundo) viro* (the *cursus honorum* is curious, but perhaps as Klebs thinks, *Prosopographia*, i. p. 224, no. 22, is due to the carelessness with which the inscription is drawn up: otherwise it is unnatural that the

last office mentioned should not have been put before the quaestorship), 1644 (a portion of an inscription of a *praefectus classis*, another fragment of which has since been recovered [1]—cf. *ibid.* 31836), 8762 (erected by a freedman of an imperial freedman *a cubiculo* to his wife), 18038 (erected by a freedwoman of Julia, wife of Titus, to her brother), 20648, 23661, 24211, 25371 (all sepulchral inscriptions), and of the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 164.4 (Severus), 533.4 (Marcus or Commodus), 565 b, h, l (about 123 A.D.), 687.4 (end of 2nd century A.D.), 696.6 (Plotina), 726.5, 730.4 (Faustina iunior), 946.5 (1st. century A.D.), 1084 a. 4 (Marcus).

Whether it is to these excavations or to others made in the same neighbourhood that the report relates (in the archives of the Pontifical Ministry of Fine Arts—1862, v. 1, 5), of excavations made near the Osteria del Curato in January 1861 (*sic*), I cannot say, but it seems not at all improbable. Lanciani, *Mélanges de l'École Française*, xi (1891), 189, who quotes it, only gives a passage in which it is stated, that among the objects found were two marble sarcophagi, one inscription, and many fragments of fine sculptures.

Gagliardi and Andreoli excavated in the same locality in 1865, and discovered a marble column 1·56 mètre in height, standing upon its square base, and bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 1324: *Varro Murena L. Trebellius aed(iles) cur(ules) locum dederunt. L. Hostilius L. l. Philargyrus A. Pomponius A. l. Gentius A. Fabricius A. l. Buccio M. Fuficius D. l. Aria Mag(istri) Veici faciund(um) coer(averunt) ex p(ondere) l.* [*quinquaginta*]. Henzen, in commenting on the inscription in *Bull. Inst.* 1865, 84, identified Varro Murena with the consul designate of 22 B.C., and used it as an argument in favour of the view that Augustus did not institute but only revived the *magistri vicorum*: the *vicus* referred to was, he thought (and in this he was probably right), some unnamed suburban *vicus*, in the territory of which the inscription was erected, and the existence of which in this neighbourhood is not otherwise known to us. His interpretation of *ex p. l.* was proposed as a mere conjecture, with reference to the weight of the object which stood upon the column, and was the subject of the dedication: the mention of the metal of which it was made would be unnecessary, as everyone could see for himself. *C.I.L.* vi. 15270 (a sepulchral inscription) recorded by Nissen in 1864

[1] It was found by Henzen in the Museo Kircheriano, having no doubt been discovered with 1644, and then carelessly separated from it.

as having been found at the seventh mile of the Via Latina does not belong to these excavations (cf. *supra*, 113); but 19478 (a fragment of a sepulchral inscription on a block of travertine) was certainly discovered on this *deverticulum*.

The Via Anagnina, so-called, is perhaps of ancient origin, being a short branch from the Via Tuscolana to the Via Latina, some way after the ninth kilomètre, and there are, on its S.W. side, some scanty traces of what may have been three tombs; but these may also belong to the Via Latina, into the line of which it soon falls.

The Tor di Mezza Via di Frascati is built upon a building of brick and *opus reticulatum*; the latter is variegated, with alternate blocks of red tufa and peperino; while to the E. of it is a single-chambered reservoir of *opus reticulatum* and brick bands, the buttresses being made of small rectangular blocks of tufa. Canina, *Edifizi*, vi. tav. lxxix gives a not very good view of it: see also Parker, *Historical Photographs*, 1438. Fabretti, *Diss. Accad. Cortona*, iii. 226 can hardly be speaking of this villa, as Tomassetti, p. 67, thinks, but must be referring to Sette Bassi (cf. *supra*, 97).[1] It is to be noticed that these buildings are not orientated with the Via Tuscolana and indeed cross its actual course; if, therefore, we are to suppose it to be ancient, it must have kept somewhat further to the N.E.

Tomassetti, 68 n., mentions excavations made by the nunnery of SS. Flavia and Domitilla of Frascati in the tenuta of Tor di Mezza Via (or del Quadrato, the real name) in 1853, which were without result, and others made by the owner, one Lunati, at the time at which he was writing (1885), which led to the discovery of 'ancient buildings, perhaps reservoirs, and other things of less importance.'

Two statues of the Berlin Museum, an Apollo (no. 55) and an Olympus (no. 231) were found in 1847, halfway to Albano, on land belonging to the Chapter of S. Maria Maggiore (*Beschreibung der Antiken Skulpturen*, nos. 55, 231). The description seems to be inaccurate, as in the list of tenute published by Campiglia in 1770 in connexion with Cingolani's map of the Campagna I can find no tenuta belonging to S. Maria Maggiore near to the road to Albano: the most southerly in this part of the Campagna is that of Carcaricola, which is on the N. side of the Via

[1] The plan which he there says that he made has never, so far as I know, seen the light.

Tuscolana close to the Tor di Mezza Via di Frascati—so that 'halfway to Frascati' would be the more correct description.

The stream which follows the high road on the right from the 11th kilomètre for some way marks the line of an ancient drain cut in the tufa, originally 0·58 mètre wide, the sides of which it has washed away. There is nothing else of importance near the road, on this side; but on the N. of the road, there are considerable remains.

The Torre dei Santi Quattro is entirely mediaeval (Tomassetti, 68); but to the N.E. of it, on the E. bank of the Fosso dell' Incastro are considerable remains of a villa, which had subterranean cisterns cut in the rock, with narrow passages: three or four shafts leading down to them can still be traced: one is circular, with two sets of foot holes. To the E., near the Botte di Luciano (a modern reservoir), are scanty remains of two other villas—one to the N.W., the other to the S. of the Botte (neither of them shown in Map III of *Papers* i); while at point 79 are other ruins; and there are two more small groups of ruins on the ridge near point 83 to the N.N.W. There are pavingstones in the stream to the E. of Casale Carcaricola, but other traces are lacking; so that the direction in which the road to which they belonged may have run is uncertain.

S.E. of the Botte di Luciano, just to the S. of the ruins of a villa at point 101, the paving of a road may be seen in the stream, going in an E.S.E. direction, diverging no doubt from the road to Torre Nuova (*infra*, 146). It then disappears for a while, but was found again in making a vineyard to the N.W. of the house marked Micara on the Via Cavona (close to which various unimportant remains exist, including the traces of what may be tombs), and seems to have crossed this road. Possibly it joined the road on the Colle Pizzuto, or it may have kept on the hill to the W. of the valley, going on towards the Ponte Tuscolo. To the N.W. of point 110 and at point 94 are other ruins. At the Passo del Lombardo are several other villas—one on each of the projecting points N.W. and N.E. of point 96: we may note, further, a drain in the Fosso del Cavaliere to the N. of the latter, and a tomb to the S.S.E. of the former, and to the S. of that again the large reservoir mentioned in *Papers* iii. 206.

On the hill to the S.E., immediately to the W. of the Fosso del Cavaliere, there is a reservoir at point 113 and to the N.W. of it another, while to the S.W. at point 122 are the remains of a villa, a reservoir, and other buildings, bearing the name Grotte Piattella. Here were found

by Marchese Campana in or about 1854 two marble heads, some large squared blocks and cornices in rosso antico (Taenarian marble) and other fragments (Visconti in *Arch. ex-Minist. Belle Arti*, 1854, v. 1. 5, cited by Lanciani in *Bull. Com.* 1884, 183). In 1900 two fine lions' heads in terra-cotta 0·26 mètre high were found: they belonged to a cornice of the same material, to a piece of which they still adhered (Tomassetti in *Not. Scav.* 1902, 202, and *Archivio Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 1902, 93 note 1). In 1902 further discoveries were made—shafts of columns, various marble fragments (one with the letters . . . . . ONOHΣ), coins (including one of Antoninus Pius of 155 A.D., on which he bears the title Germanicus—cf. Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* vii. 14, *C.I.L.* viii. 12513), figured terracottas, plain terracotta pipes, a fibula, and a lead pipe several mètres long, leading from the reservoir to a fountain. A part of it bore the name *Spendophori Aug. lib. a cu*[. . . .] (twice), and other parts bore various numbers, which according to Dressel (*C.I.L.* xv. p. 911 : cf. Gatti in *Bull. Com.* 1902, 67) mark the order in which the pipes were intended to be laid.

It is uncertain how the end of the inscription is to be supplied: it may have been *a cura*, *a cubiculo*, or *a custodia*: and there is a difference of opinion between Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen*, 171, 7 (= *Kaiserliche Verwaltungsbeamten*, 282, 1) and Dressel (*C.I.L.* xv. p. 909) as to whether the names of imperial freedmen found on other pipes are to be taken as the names of officials who had to do with the administration of the aqueducts (in which case we should complete the last word *a cura*) or whether they are simply the names of owners of the pipes and of the places which they supplied. It seems probable that the latter contention is right, especially as this pipe obviously brought water to a private fountain—very possibly from the Aqua Marcia, which passed closer than any of the other aqueducts. Cf. Grossi-Gondi in *Bull. Com.* 1902, 316 *seq.* (it does not seem at all certain that he is right, from the absence of other indications, in deciding that *Aug. lib.* refers to the emperor Augustus).

Brickstamps were also found—*C.I.L.* xv. 356 (beginning of 2nd century), 479 a. (128 A.D.), 360 (141 A.D.). I have myself found to the N. of Grotte Piattella a portion of *C.I.L.* xv. 1464 L · TAR⟨ (1st century A.D.), a fragment of a stamp of 123 A.D. with hollow letters ET COS and two other fragments ▭ ⟨OMV⟩ and ⌣ ⟨DOMIT / O⟩.

The track that runs in a N.N.W. direction to Torre Nuova, passing just to the E. of the Botte di Luciano, from the important intersection of ancient roads at the Fonte Vermicino, in all probability itself follows more or less an ancient line: there is a piece of paving *in situ* about twenty yards below it, quite close to the point where it diverges from the Via Cavona and Via Tuscolana, and at point 107 there are more traces of pavement. To the N.E. of it at the former point is the platform of a villa facing N.W., with a vaulted structure, possibly part of a reservoir or cryptoporticus: the villa is built of *opus mixtum*, and there are fragments of several varieties of coloured marble lying about. To the S. is a circular structure in the same style, and to the S.W. are unimportant ruins in *opus reticulatum*, possibly of a reservoir.

Further N.W. are the remains of an aqueduct, marked on the Staff Map, but with the turn considerably exaggerated. It is constructed of concrete containing large pieces of aqueduct deposit with a facing of rectangular blocks of tufa. In the best preserved portion (Pl. X, Fig. 2) are six piers and five arches; the piers are 1·84 mètre broad, and from 1·70 to 2·00 long: the span of the arches varies from 1·90 to 2·75 mètres. To the E.S.E. were seven more piers at least, and to the W.N.W. two more high piers (one at the crossing of the stream 2·75 long), and still further up the hill-side a low arch. I incline to consider it a late restoration of a portion of the Aqua Marcia, though it is a point about which I am not as yet certain. Fabretti wrongly marks it as Aqua Algentiana (*supra*, 140).

The remains on this hill, just N. of the aqueduct, are those of a building the nature of which is uncertain: they consist of four massive piers of late brickwork with fallen fragments of a large apse; and there is a great deal of marble about the site. To the W. is a building of *opus mixtum* with niches, perhaps a *nymphaeum*, in the vaulting of which amphorae are built in for greater lightness. The Muro Linari to the W.S.W. close to the eleventh kilomètre of the modern road is a single-chambered reservoir.

In the map of the Dorsum Praenestinum et Tusculanum which is added to the second edition of Fabretti's *De Aquis et Aquaeductibus* (Rome, 1788) (in the first it does not appear) (opp. p. 90) there are indicated at the point where the modern Via Tuscolana crosses the Via Cavona, and on the E. side of the latter *rudera veteris oppidi ad aediculam D. Franc. Xaverii.* The authorship of the map is not known to me, nor do I

know what exactly is meant by the *rudera veteris oppidi.* To this site we must probably attribute the sepulchral inscription published by Fabretti, *Inscriptiones* 142, 153 as '*Via Tusculana m. p. x. a Roma in ruinis veteris oppidi.*' (*Q. Cosidius Zosimus vixit valuit ann(os) c. nutritor Q. Allid(ius) f(ecit)—C.I.L.* xiv. 2540.)

We must now turn to the ancient road to Castrimoenium (Marino), which we left near the fourth milestone of the Via Appia Nuova, and carry our examination of it also as far as the intersection with the Via Cavona.

XIII.—THE SECOND PART OF THE ROAD TO CASTRIMOENIUM (MARINO).

To the S.E. of Roma Vecchia, the railway to Albano continues to follow this road, and has in the main obliterated it. Some way to the S.W. of it, close to the Via Appia Nuova, and a little to the S.E. of the 5th milestone of that road, at point 64 on the map, are the remains of a well preserved brick tomb, 6·22 mètres square, decorated with Corinthian pilasters outside, and with niches inside. The views of it are many: reference may be made to Parker, *Historical Photographs*, 1037, 1624, 1625. It was converted into a dwelling in or about the 12th century (Tomassetti, 65). Just beyond it are traces of an ancient road diverging from the Via Appia Nuova in a S.E. direction, which cannot, however, be followed far (it must have passed close to the ruins S.W. of point 74), and to the E.N.E. of it are the remains of a villa, and a reservoir with a single chamber.

To the N.E. again are the so-called 'ruderi del Calice,' a long reservoir of *opus reticulatum*: the building takes its name not, as Tomassetti 67 n. 1 asserts, from its resemblance to a cup as seen from a distance (indeed the ruin to which his description applies is as a fact a pillar to support quadripartite vaulting, probably of another reservoir,[1] at point 71, between the Naples and the Albano railways, still further to the N.N.E.), but to the fact that there is here a boundary stone, with the arms of Cardinal Strozzi carved on one side and a chalice on the other.

In making the race-course at Le Capannelle the remains of an ancient villa were discovered, including the bases of columns of peperino belonging to a portico, a lead pipe bearing the name [*E*]*leutheri C.I.L.* xv. 7576, fifteen bricks with stamps (which do not seem to have been published), a

[1] Here I saw two fragments of an epistyle of travertine: and to the W. are more foundations in concrete.

statuette of Minerva in lead, pieces of marble from a pavement, etc. (Lanciani in *Not. Scav.* 1882, 271 ; cf. *Bull. Com.* 1882, 176 no. 602). A prominent ruin of concrete still stands on the N.E. side of the race-course.

In 1886 excavations were made by Lord Savile, the then British Ambassador, on the boundary of the tenuta of Posticciola, belonging to Sig. Merolli, and of Marranella belonging to Sig. Bertone, *i.e.* to the N.E. of the Via Appia Nuova, not far from the race-course (the exact site meant is uncertain: La Posticciola is marked by Cingolani as coming down to the Via Appia Nuova, and the Casale of Tor di Mezza Via di Albano bears this name, whereas the Staff Map attributes it to the Casale close to the station of Le Capannelle, in which case the excavations would have been somewhere very near the latter). The remains of a farm-house of the last century of the Republic were found : it had been repaired in the third century A.D. with various materials, some of them stones bearing sepulchral inscriptions (*C.I.L.* vi. 34703—a travertine cippus—30448—two unimportant fragments—*I.G.* xiv. 2223—part of a Greek sepulchral inscription, and two unimportant fragments) : the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 174 (of the time of Commodus?), 181 (not noted as found here in *C.I.L.*) 435. 2, 602. 1 (all of the time of Severus) were discovered. (Lanciani in *Not. Scav.* 1886, 234.)

To the E. of the Casale Bertone at Capannelle are the scanty remains of a large villa, among which I found the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 562 (134 A.D.). For various discoveries on the Bertone property see *Not. Scav.* 1884, 155.

The discovery of the pavement of the road in 1890 somewhat beyond the station of Capannelle is thus recorded : 'at the 9th kilomètre of the new railway to the Castelli Romani, 125 mètres N.W. of the Casale della Pignola (which is 97 mètres above sea-level) and 1175 mètres N.W. of the station of Ciampino, the pavement of a Roman road has been found at the bottom of an excavation for material for an embankment. This pavement follows exactly the line of the old road to Marino, which, having become a mere cart track, was handed over some years back to the Marino tramway company. The Roman pavement lies 1·50 mètre below the tramlines and rises towards Ciampino with a gradient of 45 in 1000. At 18 mètres from the Casale della Pignola, on the left of the new line, the rectangular base of a tomb built of large blocks of peperino, some of which measure 1·10 × 0·79 × 0·59 mètre, may be seen at the ground level. This detail shows the

importance of the Via Castrimoeniensis in imperial times, and demonstrates the truth of the theories sustained by Fabretti.' (Lanciani in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1890, 118.) Remains of another tomb of blocks of peperino, with unfluted engaged columns, may be seen on the opposite side of the line; while on the same side as La Pignola are the remains of another reservoir.

From this point onwards as far as the crossing of the Naples line a little E. of the station of Ciampino, the railway marks the line of the ancient road. About a kilomètre to the S.E. of La Pignola, a slight ridge may indicate the line of an ancient road diverging from it, which has been marked in the map as doubtful. Close to the crossing on the E. in the cutting of the Naples line, is a roundheaded drain 0·96 mètre wide cut in the rock. Pavingstones may then be seen in the field between the Velletri and the Albano lines: but some pavement in the cutting of the former, about six feet below the modern ground level (and not very much less below the ancient, as there is virgin soil on each side of it; so that it must have travelled in a cutting), is too much to the W. to belong to our road, and must be attributed to a branch of it, perhaps going S.W.: it is visible for a length of as much as 20 feet, and must therefore have been cut on the slant by the railway. To the N.W. of this road is a passage cut in the tufa 0·90 mètre wide, lined with cement, and forming part originally of a water reservoir. To the S.W. of the road to Marino, near point 136, are unimportant ruins, while at point 154 are the remains of a reservoir, of concrete with buttresses, to the W., and of a large square brick building to the E., with more debris still to the S.E. A little to the N.N.E. of this point pavingstones may be seen on the N.E. side of the railway, and it would seem from the conformation of the ground, and from the straight line of the road, that it had already crossed the railway here.

In the railway cutting to the S.E. may be seen the remains of a large villa cut through by the line, built of *opus quadratum* and *opus reticulatum*: the peristyle measured about 10 mètres by 7, and had a gutter and step, each 2 Roman feet wide, formed of peperino blocks: to the N.E. is a floor of herring-bone brickwork, with a lead pipe *in situ* just under it.[1]

To the S.E., on the N.E. side of the line, lay the large villa of Voconius Pollio, which was excavated in 1884 by Boccanera. It is fully

[1] It is these remains that are referred to by Lanciani, *loc. cit.* 147, as discovered in May, 1880, in the course of the construction of the railway.

described by Lanciani in *Bull. Com.* 1884, 141 *sqq.* and tav. xiv–xix: cf. also *Not. Scav.*, 1884, 43, 83, 106, 158, 193, 394; 1885, 22, 478. The site occupied by it is a hill about 125 mètres wide, which commands the Valle Pantanicci on the N.E., while on the S.W. and N.W. the ground slopes away more gently towards the plain. The villa was supplied with water by a spring to the S.E. of it; the *specus* of the aqueduct, cut in the rock, was discovered in the Vigna Battocchi; half way up the left hand side of it was a smaller channel, covered with bricks laid flat, and intended, it would seem, for drinking water. In making the *specus* the original excavators had cut through an archaic tomb, a part of the original contents of which they had left undisturbed: another was found intact in 1884 close by it (Lanciani, *loc. cit.* 150 *sqq.*). After a total course of 150 mètres, the *specus* reaches a reservoir, built of concrete with pieces of peperino, 48 mètres long and 6·15 wide, divided into two halls by a line of ten pillars 1·25 mètre in length and 0·95 in width. The floor is 174 mètres above sea-level. From the reservoir it appears to have run in leaden pipes, placed within a subterranean channel 1·20 mètre high and 0·60 wide. Of the lead pipes discovered within the villa itself two bear the name of Q. Voconius Pollio with the numbers XII XV and XVI, for which cf. *supra*, 145 (*C.I.L.* xv. 7851, 7852) and a smaller one, that of T. Prifernius Paetus (*ibid.* 7846). The name of Pollio recurs in a dedication which may be attributed to the first half of the second century A.D., inscribed on a marble slab found within the villa [*Serap*]*idi et Isidi* | [*Po*]*llio n̄. exstruxit* (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2427); and it was therefore he who was mainly responsible for the construction of the villa as we have it, and his name is now generally given to it. The main building of the villa formed a rectangle 103·40 by 70·50 mètres, and the level of its floors was 172 mètres above sea-level, *i.e.* 2 mètres lower than the floor of the reservoir. On the N. was a terrace probably surrounded by porticoes on three sides (though only the S. side was excavated, fragments of Doric columns of peperino being found), the N. side being perhaps left open: on this side were two other lower terraces, and on the E. side of the upper terrace another, with buttressed supporting walls on the N. and E. A general plan is given on tav. xiv, and a separate plan of the main building on tav. xv, xvi of Lanciani's article. The main building is constructed in two different styles: the older portion is of *opus reticulatum* with stone quoins, the more recent of *opus reticulatum* with brick quoins: brickwork rarely occurs. The earlier style is to be found in the

northern part of the building—rooms i–xi, which, taken by themselves, form a town house of the regular plan, with *vestibulum* (i), *atrium* (ii), *tablinum* (iii), *triclinium* (iv), *alae* (vii, viii), and *peristyle* (xi); while we find the second style in the southern portion, which is more irregularly arranged, and in part occupied by a set of baths, heated by hypocausts. The whole building has, however, been repaired—this affects over two-thirds of the walls—with walling of blocks of local peperino 0·30 by 0·10 by 0·20 mètre, sometimes having quoins of good brickwork; and there are other signs of restoration, which, however, appears to date from about the period of the Antonine emperors: the date is given by the brickstamps from the roofs, which do not appear to have been to any extent restored after that period (p. 167). It is not stated exactly which these are—indeed on p. 164 a list of the brickstamps found in the villa is given, without distinguishing those of the roofs from those of the drains, 'not because they have the smallest chronological importance in relation to the building, but because there may be unpublished or rare ones among them.'

Lanciani makes some interesting observations as to the gradual dilapidation of the villa. The stratum of ruins which lay on the pavements was entirely composed of roofing and ridge tiles, so that the roofs fell, not owing to a fire, but owing to the collapse of the beams, before the walls fell: the debris of the latter was found higher up, and never in large masses, but in small pieces, showing that its ruin was gradual. The columns, too, remained standing for a considerable time after the dilapidation of the villa, for they fell upon a stratum of rubbish about a mètre thick. The total average thickness of the debris of the building, which was only one story high, was 1.85 mètre. Nor were traces of objects of personal and domestic use found in the villa; all portable objects of value had been removed, and most of the marble, including the architectural members, door-posts, steps, pavements, etc., but, curiously enough, with the exception of a considerable number of fine sculptures, which apparently fell from their pedestals in course of time and were left to lie as they fell. There is indeed no trace of habitation after the abandonment of the villa: two late tombs were found in the *atrium*, constructed of small square bricks made for use in the *pilae* of a hypocaust, bearing the stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 549 b. 17 (123 A.D.), 584.1 (Hadrian), and the body of a child in room viii. Some of the best of the sculptures were found in the *tablinum*—a heroic figure, a Hercules, and

an Apollo, all of which are now in the Museo delle Terme (Helbig, *Führer*, ii². 1015, 1016, 1018). The other sculptures were dispersed by auction in a sale which took place in March 1886; the best of them, with some terra-cottas, are reproduced in *Bull. cit.* tav. xvii-xix, and described by C. L. Visconti (pp. 213 *sqq.*). Besides these, I may mention an Apollo in the Vatican (Braccio Nuovo 41). Among the most curious discoveries made in the villa was that of a large mass of thin talc slabs for windows (with some pieces of window glass) in room v. Among the objects the exact locality of the discovery of which is not given are the two sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 4227, 4228 (the latter inscribed upon a fragment of a candelabrum) and a marble weight bearing the number xxv (*ibid.* 4124.3). Since the excavations the remains of the villa have been much destroyed, though some of the southern portion is still standing; and so is the apse of the building, shown just to the W. of the villa itself on tav. xiv, but not described in the text.

On the S.W. of the road to Marino is the farm-house called in the military map Casale dei Francesi. Here apparently (though the site is described by De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.* 1872, 146 [166 in the French edition] as a place known as Marco Andrea or Andreola, at present also called il Muro dei Francesi, which seems to involve a confusion, inasmuch as the name Marcandreola seems rather to belong to the N.E. side of the road) was the Vigna Zoffoli. His map (*Bull. Crist.* 1873, tav. vii) seems to show Marcandrea on the E. of the Via Cavona, but as he omits the road to Marino altogether, and the map itself is somewhat vague, it is difficult to be quite certain on the point. Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1884, tav. xiv, has, however, no hesitation in placing it on the S.W. side of the road.

In 1849 Nicola Zoffoli excavated here, but the results of his digging are not known. Excavations made here in 1861 by Domenico Zoffoli led to the discovery of a building with a marble pavement made out of various sepulchral inscriptions (including that of Julia, mother of M. Metilius Regulus Fronto, consul in 157 A.D. (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2445) and various Christian inscriptions), two waterpipes, *Valeri Messalae, C. Valeri Paulini*[1] (*C.I.L.* xv. 7849, 7850, cf. *supra*, 64) and of a number of brickstamps. See De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.* 1872, 146 *sqq.*

[1] To which Valerius Messala the pipe belonged, is uncertain: Valerius Paulinus may be the *consul suffectus* of 107 A.D.

At the Casale there are now various fragments of sculpture, a white marble cippus, 1 mètre high and 0·34 wide, with *urceus* and *patera*, which bore an inscription of seven lines, now entirely illegible, an oil mill, an unfluted peperino column 0·42 mètre in diameter, and a Romano-Doric capital and base, belonging to a column 0·31 mètre in diameter. There are, however, no ruins visible.

APPENDIX I.

A.—TABLE OF INSCRIPTIONS FOUND BY FORTUNATI (*supra*, 57).

FORTUNATI. P.	No.	*C.I.L.* VI. (EXCEPT WHERE OTHERWISE NOTED).
3.	1	—
4.	2	21968
	3	17581
	4	17576
	5	17624
	6	17513
5.	7	11921
	8	30488. 2
	9	3859
	10	17497
	11	17597
	12	17613
	13	26750
	14	26795
	15	21607
	16	26667
6.	17	30488. 3
	18	—
	19	30488. 4
	20	30488. 5
	21	*C.I.L.* xv. 7535
	22	*C.I.L.* xv. 7561
	23	*C.I.L.* xv. 7334 c
	24	30488. 1
9.	25	1919 (cf. add.)[1]
	26	10288
13.	27	1680
14.	28	—
15.	29	—
	30	—
18.	31	—
21.	32	*I.G.* xiv. 2127
26.	33	—
37.	34	22604
	35	10779 (=9009)
38.	36	13464
40.	37	—
43.	38	17535
	39	17628
	40	19868
44.	41	*C.I.G.* iv. 9595 a
45.	42	30488. 6
	43	26752
	44	29186
	45	18109
47.	46	27143
	47	25015
48.	48	12515
	49	26665
	50	—
49.	51	28785
50.	52	30488. 7
	53	13864
	54	10221
51.	55	26129
	56	19060
	57	20469
	58	19769
	59	24359
52.	60	19939
	61	20058
	62	—
53.	63	24023
	64	*I.G.* xiv. 1758
	65	17663
	66	24083
54.	67	16871
	68	*I.G.* xiv. 1311
	69	—
	70	—

[1] *Ibid.* 32308, an inscription of the same man (*L. Faenius L. fil. Donatus dec*(*urialis*) *decuriae viatoriae eq*(*uestris*) *co*(*n*)*s*(*ularis*): cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, i. 360), which was formerly in the Villa Casali, probably stood on the Via Latina also in antiquity.

FORTUNATI. P.	No.	*C.I.L.* VI. (EXCEPT WHERE OTHERWISE NOTED).
59.	71	10279
60.	72	11856
	73	10281
61.	74	10282
62.	75	19687
63.	76	19598
	77	20361
	78	17332
	79	17816
	80	11734
64.	81	21220
	82	27311
	83	11577
	84	17481
	85	26904
	86	18581
	87	36534
	88	30488. 8
	89	24128
	90	13031
66.	91	29963
	92	11521
	93	22899
66.	94	22338
67.	95	27283
	96	16356
	97	*I.G.* xiv. 1799
	98	27315
	99	13263
	100	*I.G.* xiv. 1980
68.	101	9183
	102	14134
69.	103	8998
	104	14032
	105	—
	106	17202
	107	14201
	108	14144
	109	22226 (Matz-Duhn, 3996)
	110	21735
	111	11416
	112	14869
	113	—
	114	12267
	115	—

B.—TABLE OF BRICKSTAMPS FOUND BY FORTUNATI (*supra*, 57).

FORTUNATI. P.	No.	*C.I.L.* XV.	DATE.
7.	1	9. 2	144
	2	562. 15	134
	3	674. 12	134
	4	125. 2	Circ. 123
	5	1369. 9	164
	6	408 b. 42	Caracalla
	7	541 a. 5	193
	8	162. 7	Commodus
	9	726. 4	Faustina iunior
	10	367	Marcus[1]
	11	765. 6	Marcus or Commodus
	12	876 a. 4	Hadrian
	13	1019 a. 5	120
	14	351. 6	2nd cent. (middle)

[1] 366, given separately, may be merely from a wrong copy of this stamp.

FORTUNATI. P.	No.	C.I.L. XV.	DATE.
7.	15	595 a. 6	Hadrian
8.	16	1145 a. 9	Pius
	17	601. 1	Hadrian
	18	1537	?
	19	124. 3	circ. 123
	20	575. 10	Hadrian
	21	1096 *A*. 2	75–100
	22	780 c. 12	136–7
	23	831. 5	123–8
	24	1697. 2	Christian period
	25	943. 2	Hadrian
	26	944. 3	Hadrian
	27	300. 4	123–38
	28	1154 d. 12	1st cent.
	29	1237. 6	1st cent.
9.	30	1207	?
	31	1262. 4	1st cent.
	32	1203. 9	Hadrian
18.	33	740. 2	Verus or Commodus
	34	628. 4	Severus
	35	1331 a. 1	1st cent.
19.	36	237 b. 14	Severus (beginning)
	37	369. 6.	148
	38	187. 5	Marcus
	39	1238	1st cent. ?
	40	570. 2	Hadrian
	41	1959	?
	42	—	?
	43	1731 b. 2 [1]	?
	44	*Suppl. Papers Amer. Sch.* p. 82, no. 427	?
40.	45	1084 a. 3	Marcus
	46	169 a. 5	Commodus
	47	237 b. 14	Severus (beginning)
	48	1349. 5	2nd cent. (middle ? or end ?)
	49	1615 a. 20	After Diocletian
	50	1000 e. 36	60–93
	51	581. 6	Hadrian
	52	831. 5	123–8
	53	299. 1	123–38
	54	533 a. 3	Marcus or Commodus
	55	?	?
42.	56	1368. 11	159
46.	57	876 a. 4	Hadrian
	58	300. 4	123–38

[1] Cf. *Suppl. Papers Amer. Sch.* p. 83, no. 433.

FORTUNATI. P. No.		*C.I.L.* XV.	DATE.
46.	59	1439. 2	128–33
	60	283. 8	1st cent. (end)
	61	1873 (fragt. 797 ?)	1st cent. ?
	62	432. 2	end of 2nd cent.
49.	63	1090 a. 3	155
52.	64	404. 18	Severus
55.	65	408 b. 42	Caracalla
	66	371 b. 33	Severus
	67	1203. 9	Hadrian
	68	1795 b. 2	Caracalla ?
	69	361. 9	123–5
	70	726. 5	Faustina iunior
	71	404. 18	Severus
	72	1805	?
	73	1835	?
	74	1824	circ. 123
	75	(omitted)	
64.	76	1096 a. 8	75–100
	77	1369. 9	164·
	78	1839	2nd cent.
	79	432. 2	2nd cent. (end)
	80	236 a. 4	2nd cent. (middle)
65.	81	548 d. 11	123
	82	530. 1	123
	83	1836 a. 1	123
	84	595 a. 6	Hadrian
	85	1768	?
	86	1581 a. 11	?
	87	cf. 1731 b. 2	?
	88	—·—	?
	89	—·—	?
67.	90	?	123
	91	944. 3	Hadrian
	92	1090 a. 3	155
	93	1072. 3	154
68.	94	896. 2	1st cent.
70.	95	2547. 3[1]	1st cent.
	96	2535[2]	?
	97	2527 hh[3]	?

To this list may be added 1137 (62 A.D.), not given by Fortunati, the exact provenance of which is uncertain.

---

[1] Upon a fragment of terracotta, perhaps from a cinerary urn : cf. *Papers*, iii. 21 (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4073=xv. 2547. 4).

[2] Upon a terracotta waterpipe.

[3] Scratched upon the side of *a dolium*.

APPENDIX II.

LIST OF BRICKSTAMPS FOUND IN THE VILLA OF VOCONIUS POLLIO (*supra*, 149).

Those marked with an asterisk (*) are not given by Lanciani in *Bull. Com.* or *Not. Scav.*, but are published in *C.I.L.* XV. from Dressel's copies.

C.I.L. XV.	DATE.
305. 2	Vespasian
315. 14	Hadrian—several copies
370. 5	Marcus or Commodus—several copies
375. 19	126—two copies
380. 2	Commodus
401. 11	Marcus—two copies
499. 4	123
*549 d. 38	123
553. 9	123
563 h. 26	123
580 b. 10	Hadrian
*657 b. 3	middle of 1st cent.
*730. 9	Faustina iunior
795 a. 14, b. 28	1st cent.
823. 8	Hadrian
1014 a. 18	after 108
1068 a. 16	145–155—several copies
1100. 5	about 90
1239 b. 4	1st cent.
1315 b. 4	1st cent.
1383 c. 9	1st cent.
1465 b. 8	1st cent.—two copies (tiles)
1489 b. 2	1st cent.
1510 d. 16	1st cent.
1787	?
1974. 1	1st cent.
2238. 5	1st cent.—many copies
*2241	end of 1st cent.
2243 b. 2	1st cent.
2256. 1	? three copies in hypocausts
2287	?

ADDENDUM.

The *addenda* to the present and the former parts of the *Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna* will be reserved for the second section of the present paper ; but an exception is here made in favour of a small votive terracotta, found by Miss Topham on the site of the temple near the Ponte di Nona on the Via Praenestina (*Papers*, i. 171, 172), which she has been kind enough to allow me to photograph and publish (Pl. XIV, fig. 2). The photograph gives the actual size of the original : the thickness is 0·011 mètre. Prof. G. Körte, to whom I submitted it, recognized in it the imitation in terracotta of a *bulla*, and, in the representation, the punishment of Marsyas, who is seen in the centre, his hands tied to a tree. On the spectator's right sits the Scythian, who is to flay him ; on the left, in an attitude betokening mourning, his pupil Olympos.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

VOL. IV. NO. 2

THE GOLDSMITHS OF ROME UNDER THE PAPAL AUTHORITY

THEIR STATUTES HITHERTO DISCOVERED AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY

BY

SIDNEY J. A. CHURCHILL, M.V.O.

H.B.M.'s Consul for Sicily at Palermo

LONDON: 1907

THE GOLDSMITHS OF ROME UNDER THE PAPAL AUTHORITY: THEIR STATUTES HITHERTO DISCOVERED AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Introduction.

During over eight years I have been searching diligently for such material as is available to throw some light on the history of the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths of Italy and their Art. The following notes represent that portion of the material so gathered which refers to Rome.

Treating of gold- and silverwork in Rome in a bold spirit one would be obliged to include almost all the most famous artists of all Italy, because, sooner or later, they nearly all gravitated to Rome. In thus flocking to the Papal Court and to the head of the Church of Rome, they went to the principal source of patronage of the Arts in Italy.

Goldsmiths from all over Continental Europe were either in the permanent pay or temporary employ of the Vatican. British goldsmiths do not appear to have gone so far as Rome, though British names occur in the Rolls of the Corporation of the Goldsmiths of Lombardy early in the fourteenth century.

As an example of the legitimate expansion to which these notes might become subject the silver processional cross still existing in the Basilica of S. Giovanni Laterano may be cited. This was the work of the goldsmith Nicola of Guardiagrele in the Abruzzi, regarding whom much has been discovered and written in recent years. The student should consult: Vincenzo Bindi: *Monumenti Storici ed Artistici degli Abruzzi* (Napoli, Giannini, 1889, 4to, pp. 966 and an atlas of 227 illustrations). Leopold Gmelin: *Die Mittelalterliche Goldschmiedskunst in den Abruzzen.* (In *Zeitschrift des bayerischen Kunstgewerbevereins,* München, 1890, illustrated.) An Italian translation by Gaetano Crugnola appeared in the

Rivista Abruzzese, Teramo, 1891, 8vo, pp. 70, 8 plates; also separately. P. Piccirilli, *Monumenti Architettonici Sulmonesi* (Lanciano, Carabba, 1889–1901, fol. illustrated, 9 parts). *A Sculpture by Nicolà da Guardiagrele* (Connoisseur, London, August 1906, p. 257, illustrated). Vinc. Balzano: *Nicolà di Guardiagrele scultore?* (In *Svegliarino*, Chieti, Nos. 6, 7, and 8; separately, Chieti, Marchionne. MCMIII. pp. 24.) The same, *I due Nicolà di Guardiagrele nel Secolo XV* (Extract. Chieti, 1904, pp. 6). Gius. Maria Bellini, *Nicolà di Guardiagrele e la grande Croce processionale della chiesa di S. Maria di Lanciano* (Lanciano, Masciangelo, 1891, 8vo, pp. 12. This had originally appeared in *Arte e Storia*, Firenze, December 10, 1890). Bellini: *L'Arte in Abruzzo* (Lanciano, Tomassini, 1889, 8vo, pp. 38). V. Bindi *Per Nicolà di Guardiagrele orafo del Secolo XV* (in *Arte e Storia*, No. 25, 1890; separately, pp. 17). Ben. Costantino *Nicolà di Guardiagrele* (first issued in the *Svegliarino* of Chieti, then reprinted in the *Rassegna Bibliografica dell' Arte Italiana*, Nos. 5–7, 1905, p. 123). Gius. Iezzi: *Nicolà Gallucci di Guardiagrele* (Guardiagrele, Palmerio, 1903, pp. 36). Fil. Ferrari: *Nicolà Gallucci di Guardiagrele* (Chieti, Jecco, 1903, 8vo, pp. viii+59, 2 plates). Ferrari *L'Arte di Guardiagrele nella Mostra d'arte antica Abruzzese* (Chieti, Palmerio, 8vo, 1905, pp. 20). Ferrari *S. Maria Maggiore di Guardiagrele* (Guardiagrele, Palmerio, 1905, 4to, pp. 53, 26 plates). Teod. Marino *Nicolà di Guardiagrele orafo* (in Rivista Abruzzese, February 1894). Marino *Nicolà di Guardiagrele e il suo primo lavoro* (in *Rivista Abruzzese*, February 1895). Alfredo Melani *Sul casato Galuzzi o Gallucci dato a Nicolà di Guardiagrele* (in *Arte e Storia*, February 20–March 1, 1902, pp. 18). F. Ranieri *Alcune Notizie sulle opere di Nicolà Andrea Galluci di Guardiagrele* (in *Una inscrizione lapidaria rinvenuta alle falde della Majella* . . . S. l. n. d. 16mo, pp. 13, of which the *Notizie* occupy pp. 7 to 13). Ferruccio Rizzatti *Nicolà di Guardiagrele, un precursore del Cellini* (in *Vita Italiana*, Roma, 1895, fasc. 18). This list is by no means exhaustive.

Another famous goldsmith who was employed by the Papal Court both at Rome and Avignon was Giovanni Bartolo of Siena. Soresino was the first to illustrate the reliquaries of St. Peter and St. Paul by this artist formerly existing in the Basilica of S. Giovanni Laterano. Augustin Canron appears to have written some notes on the Reliquary of S. Agatha in Catania, which is apparently the only work of this artist still known to exist. These notes were published in the *Revue des Bibliothèques Parois-*

siales in Avignon, prior to 1893, at a date which I have not yet been able to establish. Eug. Muntz called attention to Giovanni Bartolo of Siena in an article entitled *Giovanni di Bartolo da Siena, orafo della Corte di Avignone nel XIV Secolo* (in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, ser. V. 1888, vol. ii. p. 3; and separately): see Muntz *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes du XIV Siècle* (in *Revue de L'Art Chrétien*, Mai 1891), C. Sciuto-Patti *Le Antiche Oreficerie del Duomo di Catania* (in *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, N.S. xvii, 1892; and separately), Annibale Campani's notes on the last cited (in *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, Roma, vi, 1893, p. 68). Barbier de Montault *L'Œuvre de Limoges à Catane* (in *Bulletin de la Soc. Sc. histor. et Archeolog. de la Corrèze*, vol. xv, July–September 1893, pp. 477–491). O. Maruti *Il tesoro di S. Agata a Catania* (in *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, 1891, p. 139), E. Mauceri *L'Arte in onore di S. Agata in Catania* (in *L'Arte*, Rome, 1906. p. 423, illustrated). My own notes printed in the *Burlington Magazine* for November, 1906, and privately reprinted: *Giovanni Bartolo of Siena, Goldsmith and Enameller*, 1364–1385, *and the Reliquary Bust of S. Agatha in Catania*, illustrated. In Borghesi and Banchi's *Nuovi documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese* (Siena, Torrini, 1898, 8vo), at pp. 38–48, there are new discoveries of records of this artist down to 1418.

A bibliography of Cellini has been omitted because its inclusion would have doubled the bulk of these notes. For the same reason no mention has been made of medals or medallists, or of the many monographs which have been written on them.

* * * * * *

It may be useful to the student to know the system which I have adopted in keeping my material up to date and easy of access. The system saves a considerable amount of tedious clerical work. A quantity of cards or slips six inches long by four broad are kept handy. When a note is to be made it is written direct on the slip in the following manner:

SICILY. PENDANT, 1782–3.

Amongst the objects claimed from the defaulting Conservator of the Monte di Pietà of Palermo in 1782–83 was a 'Cavallo d'Oro con pietre e perle e smalti con pendenti a tre lacrime.'

(Authority: fol. 61–78 of the Grande Archivio, Tribunale della Gran Corte, Sede Criminale, Processi, Anno 1783–84, Ind. ii. 3.)

This card would be placed in a box disposed geographically, under 'Sicily.' In another box, which is a general Index, a reference to it would be found under 'Pendant' and 'Jewellery.'

Admirable photographs of gold and silver work, of all sorts, may be purchased from the Gabinetto Fotografico of the Ministry of Public Instruction at Rome or from the principal photographers, such as Alinari, Brogi, Moscioni of Rome, and others.

NOTES FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS.

The organization of crafts and trades into associations for their mutual benefit appears to have originated in the East. In the West the fundamental principle which governed these combinations was Protection; not only against the alien but also against the native of the State who was not born in the town where each corporation had its head quarters; in some towns, even, against those fellow townsmen who were not sons of former craftsmen, or who did not belong to the Guilds.

The history of the Corporations in Italy has been the subject of much study in recent times. The Corporations of classical times do not form part of our present subject[1]; but we may note in passing that the Corporation of Goldsmiths was among the earliest of the Roman *Collegia*, one of those, indeed, the foundation of which was ascribed by tradition to Numa (Plutarch, *Numa* 17; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 1). The primitive term *aurarius* (*faber*) was replaced later on by *aurifex*. Inscriptions show that it continued to exist under the Empire (Habel in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie*, ii. 2548 *s.v.* aurifex). E. Rodocanachi, who wrote a history of *Les Corporations Ouvrières à Rome* (Paris, Picard, 1894, 2 vols. large 4to. illustrated) at p. x of vol. i quotes, as a proof of the existence of an association of the Goldsmiths of Rome in 1035, the document in the archives of S. Maria in Via Lata at Rome, regarding *Bonofilium jure matrificum aurificem*, published at p. 274 of the following work *Del Primicero | della Santa Sede Apostolica | e di altri uffiziali maggiori | del sacro palagio Lateranense | Opera | di D. Pierluigi Galletti romano | . . . | Roma*, MDCCLXXVI, *presso Generoso Salomoni*, 4to.

[1] For the Collegia see J. P. Waltzing *Étude Historique sur les Corporations Professionelles chez les Romains*, Brussels, 1895–1900.

Another transcription (the original document is no longer known to exist) has *vere matrificum.*

Dr. Ignazio Giorgi directs my attention to another construction placed on these words by L. M. Hartmann, in his *Ecclesiae S. Mariae in Via Lata Tabularium* (Vindobonae, Gerold, 1895, with an album of plates). That writer (p. 81) proposes to emend to *Bonofilium virum magnificum aurificem.*

Should this last be the correct construction, then the document can no longer be employed as proof of the existence of a Corporation of the Goldsmiths in Rome about the year 1034–35.

The first annotator of the Statutes of the Goldsmiths of Rome was Pietro Agostino Antolini, in his *Thesavrus | Legalis | Vniversitatis | Avrificvm | vrbis*, fully described *infra*, 186.

Apart from the information contained in Antolini's comments the only early attempt at a history of the Goldsmiths of Rome which is known to me is that of Angelo Perelli, Secretary of the Guild from 1699 to about 1709. This writer was the son of a previous Secretary, Bernardino Palombo Perelli. His narrative is contained in Protocol 'A' of the Archives of the Confraternity and appears to have been written in the early years of the eighteenth century. The draft sheets of this history also exist in the Archives.

The next writer from whom anything can be learnt about the early history of the Goldsmiths is Antonio Bertolotti, who gathered his material from the Notarial and other Archives, some two thousand volumes of the records of which he examined.

Giovanni Bresciano in his *Bibliografia Statutaria delle Corporazioni Romane di Arti e Mestieri* (in the *Rivista delle Biblioteche e degli Archivi*, vol. xi—Firenze; Olschki, 1900) at pp. 132–134, cites all the Statutes of the goldsmiths of which he could gather information. He failed to secure access to the Archives of the Goldsmiths.

Before proceeding further it should be noted that Chapter CLXII of the *Statuti della Città di Roma* (1358–1398) edited by Camillo Rè (Roma, Tipo. della Pace, 4° 1880) p. 167, treats of the Goldsmiths and prohibits the use of imitation gold. Silverware, such as belts or girdles, plate, etc., was to be of sterling standard and to be marked by an expert who was to be appointed by the Senator of Rome and the Conservators of the city. The marks to be impressed on the plate were to consist of the two letters S.P.,

if the silver was of sterling quality and of the letters S.P.R. when the quality was finer than sterling grade.

At p. 13, note 21 F of his annotations, mentioned above, Antolini states that the Goldsmiths, for two hundred years previous to 1508, had been united under the same Consulate with the Ferrari and Sellari in the church of S. Salvatore in Copella.[1] Perelli writing fifty years later repeats this statement in his narrative.

Verifying the authority quoted by Antolini it will be found that Ottavio Panciroli (*I Tesori Nascosti nell' alma città di Roma* (Roma, Zanetti, 1600) p. 743) in writing of the church of S. Salvatore alle Copelle, says: 'Oltre della parochia sta in questa chiesa la Compagnia de Sellari, che celebrano la festa di S. Eligio nel suo proprio giorno, al primo di Decembre, e gli Orefici, e Ferrari alli 25 di Giugno & alle loro chiese si disse, perche S. Eligio sia l'Auuocato di queste Arti.'

S. Eligio was the patron Saint of the saddlers, goldsmiths, farriers, keymakers, coppersmiths, swordmakers, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, nailmakers, bitmakers, archibugieri, and all those who worked in iron, silver, or gold.

Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza, in his *Eusevologio*[2] *Romano | overo | delle Opere Pie | di Roma, | accresciuto e ampliato . . . 2da impressione* (in Roma, Giov. Andreoli MDCIC, 4to, pp. xxxij+518, 300+ccvj), part II, 53, writing of the church of S. Eligio de Sellari a S. Salvatore delle Copelle states that the Saddlers, Blacksmiths, and Goldsmiths were united in this church until 1404, under the Pontificate of Innocent VII, after which they separated. At p. 55, regarding the church of S. Eligio of the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths in Via Giulia, Piazza writes that the confraternity was instituted as a separate body with Statutes and a church in 1509, and that their festival day was June 25, when they gave dowries to orphan girls. They also aided gold- and silversmiths who came to Rome until they could find work. The Goldsmiths as a confraternity did not wear any distinctive dress. On their banner they bore a figure of S. Eligio.

The Ferrari and other trades had their church of S. Eligio near the church of the Consolazione. In 1620 they obtained an arm of S. Eligio

[1] The church of S. Salvatore is variously called by different authors in Copella, alle Copelle, or delle Copelle. The modern spelling is Coppella.

[2] Haym mentions an edition of this work printed in Rome, per L'Ercole, 1698. 4to. The Statuti of the Ferrari, dated 1839, quote an edition dated 1679, a copy of which exists in the Library of the German Institute in Rome.

from France. They also possessed the casket in which S. Veronica brought the Holy Head to Rome.

Turning to the *Statuti della Venerabile Confraternità di S. Eligio De' Ferrari di Roma* (Roma, Stamp. della R.C.A. 4to, 1839, pp. vii+64) at p. iv, a history of the guild will be found. From this it will be seen that it is not known precisely when the Università of the Ferrari was instituted. It is certain that on September 26, 1453, Nicolas V conceded them the church of S. Giacomo d'Alto-Passo and S. Martino for their use and for their Hospital. These buildings were apparently abandoned as too remote, and in 1561 the Ferrari stipulated with a builder named Calvanis for the construction of a church near the Piazza della Consolazione. This church was dedicated to S. Eligio de' Ferrari.

Rodocanachi, quoting the Statutes of the Merchants of Rome, which I have not come across, p. 28, paragraph 103, states at p. 209, vol. ii, of his *Corporations Ouvrières à Rome*, that in the fourteenth century the Goldsmiths were subject to the Merchants.

From A. Bertolotti's *Artisti Lombardi a Roma nei Secoli XV, XVI e XVII* (Milano, Hoepli, 1881, 2 vols. 8vo), vol. ii, p. 312, it will be seen that on June 13, 1508, the following members of the Università of the Goldsmiths of Rome met in the Oratory of S. Peter and S. Paul, in the Università of the Confraternity of the Gonfalone—as they possessed no meeting-place of their own—and decided to construct a church in a garden, where there were the remains of a church formerly dedicated to San Fusterio,[1] situated in the quarter of the Regola, near the river, purchasing the ground from the heirs of Michele Castigli:—

Fulvio Surrentino di Angelino, Consul.

Sigismondo Demonte di Domenico da Ferrara, Consul.

Lodovico de Paganis, mediolanensis, Consul.

The fourth Consul was Antonio degli Inferrerii, who was absent from the meeting.

Michael de Iuuenalibus.

Sanctus Cola Sabba.

Julianus delle Conte.

Domenicus di Michaelle de Sutrio.

[1] Armellini, *Chiese di Roma*, 423 calls it S. Eusterio. According to him it was more generally known as S. Aurea in the 16th century and from the 17th onwards as the church of the Spirito Santo dei Napoletani. He thus distinguishes S. Eusterio from S. Eligio de' Ferrari.

J. B. de Amico.
Antonius de M. Paolo de Camerino.
Nallus de Nodio de Alexandria.
Antonius de Tuffis de Bononia.
Bernardus Palochi.
Angelus de Lodovico de Florenzia.
Joh. Alverus Valentinianus.
Joh. Petrus de Criuellis mediolanensis.
Marzius de Domenico Lucarelli romanus.
Raphael de Andrea florentinus.
Franciscus de Antonio de senis.
Zenobio de Emiliano.
Stephanus de Florentia pro Cerboni de Consortini de Corsica.

Antonio degli Inferrerii was charged with the execution of the project.

On June 25, 1508, the property was transferred, the Consuls then being Gaspare de Apriano, Bernardo Palotii romano, Antonius Magistri Pauli de Sancto Marino, and Pietro Post de Lacie Alemanno. The Notary was L. de Masiis (1505–25, fol. 60–61). His records not being in the Notarial Archives of Rome may possibly be in the Archivio di Stato in Rome.

Antolini, pp. 2–3, informs us that under the Pontificate of Giulio II, on June 23, 1508, Misser Santi de Cola, Giov. Batt. de Amici, Lorenzo Grossi Genovese, who were all attached to the Papal Court, together with the Consuls Gaspare de Aprano, Antonio San-Martino and Pietro Porro, were commissioned by the Goldsmiths of Rome to examine, regulate, ordain, reform, and institute new Statutes for the Università of the Goldsmiths. It should be noted that one of the MS. copies of the Statutes in the Archives of the Goldsmiths, written about 1650, is entitled *Statuti dell' Università Riformati nell' Anno* 1509 *sotto il Pontificato di Giulio II.* At p. 10 Antolini mentions the ancient Statutes formerly ordained by the Presidente Clerici di Camera Apostolica.

A search made by me amongst the Archives of the Corporation of the Goldsmiths of Rome disclosed no documents previous to 1509. Angelo Perelli in his narrative states distinctly that the Goldsmiths of Rome were constituted as a separate guild in 1508.

According to a document found by Bertolotti in the Archivio Urbano filza 93 (vide his *Artisti Veneti*, p. 32), it appears that the Archives of the

Goldsmiths in 1563 were no longer in their possession, as they petitioned for a general Papal excommunication for those unlawfully detaining their papers and property. During the nineteenth century the copper-plates containing the marks of the Goldsmiths of Rome were returned to the Corporation by a private individual who had them.

The church which the Goldsmiths built in Via Giulia was said to have been designed by Bramante. Whilst it was building the guild met in the Church of S. Lucia, and this went on till 1517. The Notary at this time appears to have been named Straballato. His Archives are not in the Notarial Archives, but may be in the Archivio di Stato at Rome.

By a contract dated October 31, 1602, one Francesco Bernascone, builder, agreed to rebuild the Church of S. Eligio to the plans of the architect, Flaminio Ponzi, a Lombard (Bertolotti: *Artisti Lombardi*, vol. ii, p. 8). Whilst the church was rebuilding the Goldsmiths met in the Oratory of the Compagnia di S. Spirito della Nazione Napolitana (Notary: Emilio Romolini, 1583–1606, fol. 721). In September, 1607 the Goldsmiths were still meeting in the same place (Notary: Luzio Antamori, 1602–8, fol. 451–572.) In 1608 the Church of S. Eligio was again available for the meetings of the Goldsmiths (Bertolotti: *Artisti Veneti*, p. 70). In 1625 Monsignor Malvasia, President of the Zecca, authorized the spending of 4,000 scudi on the Church of S. Eligio, then in ruins. The church still exists, but is no longer used as such. The Corporation of the Goldsmiths of Rome have their headquarters in the sacristy, and the Archives are kept in a room by the belfry.

In 1628 the Goldsmiths approached Monsu Filippo de Bettune Conte de Selles, Ambassador of France, with a view to his intercession with the Bishop of Noyon in order that the Guild might obtain possession of a part of the relics of S. Eligio. In the same year Giov. Pallotola, silversmith, made a silver head of S. Eligio, wherein to place the relics obtained from France. In 1698 Monsu Natale Miglie't engaged to make six candlesticks for the Church of S. Eligio. These were completed in the following year.

In 1517 the Goldsmiths of Rome were exempted from paying shop and street taxes. This privilege was confirmed in 1575 by Sixtus V. In renewing the Statutes Gregory XIII granted the Guild the title of 'Collegio e Nobil Arte,' placing it under the jurisdiction of the Camera Apostolica.

On November 16, 1557, Giov. Goreri da Corregio, mason, made a

contract with the Consuls for radical repairs to the Church of S. Eligio (Notary: Perello, 1548–59, fol. 19).

On April 11, 1587, the Goldsmiths offered the Pope 15,000 scudi for the privilege of the control of the money-changing and sale of broken gold and silver business.

On September 4, 1603, Cardinal Aldobrandini granted the Goldsmiths the right to elect a person to clean the streets in front of their shops.

The Goldsmiths at all times showed considerable restiveness; they were neither united amongst themselves nor very respectful of their Statutes. Some of the greatest goldsmiths do not appear to have joined the Guild, whilst others evaded the obligations of the regulations governing the marking of gold- and silverwork. The names of Caradosso and Cellini are absent from the lists of members of the Guild hitherto accessible to me. As regards Cellini there is no mention of the Confraternity in either his Autobiography or his work on the Goldsmith's Art. With regard to the mark it will be found that goldsmiths employed by the Papal Court and influential personages frequently ignored the obligation to exhibit it on their work.

In 1545 Donnino Ripa de Parma, a former assistant and friend of Caradosso, proceeded against the Consuls, because they had expelled him from the Consulship. This case dragged on till 1550, when Donnino was successful in his suit against the Guild.

In 1699 Francesco Martini being elected Consul refused to accept office, alleging that his position as an officer of the Mint freed him from the obligations of duty with the Guild. He equally refused to pay the fine of 10 scudi for refusing office. The Guild at once summoned him, showing that in 1666 Domenico Brandi, who was Superintendent of the Mint, accepted office as Consul; in 1675 Bartolomeo Colleoni, paymaster of the Mint, also accepted the Consulate; in 1692 the same Colleoni, then officer in the Mint, paid his fine of 10 scudi and was replaced as Consul by Domenico Maltraversa, also an officer in the Mint, who exercised his office as Consul during that year. The case of Francesco Martini was tried before the President of the Mint and carried, on appeal, into the higher Courts. Finally in 1704 Martini had to pay his fine, after which he was proceeded against for costs.

In 1703, when the Consuls were on their round of inspection of the goldsmiths' shops they found one Giuseppe Spagna, who insisted on exer-

cising the profession without a proper licence. His shop was situated in the Borgo Nuovo. He had given the Guild trouble since 1697. When visited, assuming an arrogant and truculent demeanour, he caught up a stick with which he threatened the Consuls whilst abusing them freely. The outraged Consuls at once proceeded against him before the President of the Mint, by whom he was condemned to seven years' imprisonment with loss of all the silver seized during the visit of the Consuls to his shop.

On January 21 1645 the Mastro di Casa of Cardinal Panfili wrote to the Consuls of the Gold- and Silversmiths requesting them to look out for two silver dishes with the arms of Cardinal Barberino, which, together with several forks and spoons, were missing after the banquet held in his master's house in Christmas week. Many such notices are to be seen in the Archives of the Goldsmiths.

In 1508 the seal of the Guild consisted of a chalice, to the left of the knob of which was the letter S, whilst on the right was the letter E (S. Eligio) in a band containing the inscription (in capitals) NOBILIS—A—AVRIFICVM —VNIVERSITATIS.—In 1563 the seal contained a figure of S. Eligio with a pastoral staff facing to the left with the inscription SANCTVS ◦ ELIGIVS ◦ AVRIFEX. In 1567 the seal contains a chalice with the inscription SOCIETA AVRIFICVM. In 1598 the seal is the same as that used in 1678 but smaller. In 1649 the seal represented S. Eligio facing to the right.

In Protocol D, Carta 322, of the Archives of the Guild is a note of the testamentary dispositions of Elizabeth Moroni, sister of Gaspare Moroni, who left one hundred scudi for a mass to be said for the benefit of her brother. This will (Notary Belletti) was opened on December 16, 1679.

In an act dated 1734 'forchette alla romana' are mentioned.

The Statutes.

A full list of all the Statutes which I have been able to discover is appended to these notes. The list is by no means complete. Additions should easily be found by a careful search amongst the libraries of Rome and in the large mass of recent acquisitions by the Capitoline Archives and Library.

From the preceding notes it will be seen that the statutes were 'reformed' in 1508. As no copies of the Ancient Statutes mentioned

by Antolini have yet come to light, the earliest available for examination are those of which MS. copies exist in the Archives of the Guild, which were commented on by Antolini. These Statutes were contained in fifty-five chapters, principally concerned with the administration of domestic justice, the election of office-bearers, payment of fees, and religious observances, etc.

The officials of the Guild consisted of four Consuls, of whom one was the Camerlengo. There were besides both Councillors and Syndics. The term of office of the latter only lasted one month. The Camerlengo was the senior Consul. The Councillors assisted the Consuls. The election to the Consulate took place on the third day of Pentecost. The outgoing Consul named two Peacemakers, two Sick-nurses, and two Sacristans. On the eve of the festival of S. Eligio—June 25—the Confraternity congregated and the retiring and incoming Consuls met. All the observances are set down in a contract drawn up by Giouan Angelo d'Oruieto (probably a Notary). After attending mass and receiving the records, books, and chest from the retiring officials, the new Consuls feasted the Syndics at an individual cost, which was not to exceed one gold ducat for each. After this the Confraternity divided into two parties, one to accompany the outgoing and the other to accompany the new Consuls home. Feast days and Sundays were to be rigidly observed. In the event of the death of the Camerlengo he was succeeded by the first of the Consuls. Refusal of office was subject to a fine of ten scudi. In any contestations amongst members of the Guild or between strangers and a member of the Guild jurisdiction lay with the Consuls of the Goldsmiths with appeal to the Camera Apostolica.

On November 11 1608 the Goldsmiths of Rome sent a memorandum to the President of the Mint petitioning for the confirmation of their ancient privileges. Rings were to be marked inside the bezel with the standard of the gold of which they had been made. Every master-craftsman was to have his own personal mark. Foreign work was allowed, provided it bore the mark of the town where it was produced. (The Notary in 1607–10 was apparently Luzio Antamori, *supra*, 171.)

Under the stipulations of the decree dated November 28 1628 no member of the Corporated Goldsmiths was allowed to carry a case regarding the craft into any other Court, or before other judges, under penalty of 5 scudi.

No one was admitted to membership in the Confraternity, or allowed to open a shop as a goldsmith, silversmith, or die- or seal-engraver except with the sanction of the Consuls and the approval of the secret and general council, under penalty of 100 scudi. Under penalty of 400 scudi the Consuls were prohibited from granting licences as mastercraftsmen to those who had not qualified as follows :—

By the production of proofs of good and honest conduct ;

Proof that the candidate has not been condemned as a coiner, or been under accusation as such.

A foreigner was obliged to produce similar proofs from the country of his origin. Each applicant had to prove having served for three years at Rome as a workman, and was obliged to give a practical demonstration of his skill as a craftsman, by doing a specimen of his work before the Consuls. He was further shown good and imitation stones and was asked to judge them for valuation. Samples of gold of different standards were placed before him to see whether he could distinguish between them. If he was a silversmith he was asked to fashion a figure out of a silver plate. As a goldsmith his skill in mounting and enamelling was tested.

The eldest son of a mastercraftsman enjoyed certain advantages over others.

No one could of his own initiative set up as a working goldsmith. To be admitted to articles the workman had to prove that he was of good birth. He had also to produce security in 100 scudi for his articles.

By the Statutes of 1734 and 1740 no Roman could become a member of the Guild without a certificate from at least three mastercraftsmen, besides showing proof of having done at least four years as an apprentice and three years as a workman. The foreigner paid fees amounting to 30 scudi as against 21 paid by the native. The Guild was limited to 170 mastercraftsmen. Future admissions were only to be considered as vacancies occurred, the son of a deceased mastercraftsman having the preference over others.

There can be no doubt that the Goldsmiths all over Italy, at all times, tried to protect their profession against intrusion both by natives and foreigners. It seems equally clear that individual goldsmiths enjoyed special privileges and immunities. Under an order of Alfonso I, dated

from Gaeta October 24 1437, it will be found that one Pauli de Roma was given the right during the term of his life to mark all silver of the carlino standard, which was produced in the kingdom of Sicily, and this the rights and privileges of the Corporation of the Goldsmiths of Naples and Sicily notwithstanding.[1]

In Turin it will be found that the Goldsmiths particularly appealed to the Ducal House of Savoy not to allow the Court Goldsmiths to enjoy immunity from the regulations governing the whole class of Goldsmiths under their Statutes.

On September 10 1761 the Goldsmiths of Rome passed a resolution to the effect that no further apprentices were to be articled during a period of ten years; if it was absolutely necessary the consent of the whole of the Confraternity had to be obtained and even then the son of a licensed master had to be preferred, and failing him a workman with a licence, the apprentice being required to serve six years as such.

An appeal against this resolution was submitted to the Pope. In consequence of this Cardinal Girolamo Colonna under date of November 27 1761 issued a decree revoking the resolution of the Goldsmiths dated September 10, and severely rebuking them for their audacity in attempting to impose insufferable regulations contrary to public liberty, whereby the profession would become hereditary to those then exercising it.

The Goldsmiths not only had the control of the making and sale of all objects made in the precious metals, as well as the engraving of seals, but they also secured control over the sale of gold and silver by pedlars and second-hand dealers. The mints of Italy were in the hands of the Goldsmiths and in most cities they were verifiers of weights and measures. The following document which I came across in the Archives of the Goldsmiths shows how tenaciously they protected their interests. It has been left in its interesting original as a specimen of the composition of its day. The petition is undated, paper and writing are of the second half of the sixteenth century. It is addressed to the Pope:

Beat^{mo} Padre,

Salvator Boccalari Archibugiere con supporre' alla Sta V'ra che' li pesi, che adoprano / li orefici, li bottegari, li Mercanti, il Monte' istesso non siano giusti, vuol dare ad inten/dere, che' tutto il mondo sia in errore,' e Lui

[1] H. W. Schulz *Denkmaeler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien* (Dresden, 1860. 4 vols. 4to.). Vol. iv. p. 180.

voglia corregerlo; poiche non puo controvertersi / che li pesi, che si adoprano in Roma, corrispondono con quelli del mondo tutto; si che / essendo ingannato Roma è inganno anco il Mondo. / La sostanza pero e questa che oltre a levare l'offitio di Pesatore all' Università dell' / Orefici che l'ha in ogni Stato vorrebbe estorcere da V. Sta l'impositione d' una gabella / di poter bollare ogni sei mesi li pesi, il che puo causare disturbo anco per li Stati delli / altri Pri(nci)pi, quali generalm̄te si regolano tutti in conformità, poiche la dobla di / Spagna, d' Italia, è simile, tanto pesa in Roma, quanto in Spagno, francia, e pure / in tante centinaia d'anni Li altri Pri(nci)pi non honno saputo conoscere in Roma questo / errore, che suppone un' Archibugiere; Mentre li Orefici sono arrivati a partire un / grano in 72 parti, benche lo sappino ridurre in piu parti per fare li saggi, è non senza / causa tanto la S. Sede Ap̄lica, quanto tutti li Pri(nci)pi, li pesi dell' oro li hanno addossato / allo Università delli Orefici, e non ad altri. /

E quando si volesse admettere che ci siano di quelli, che hanno le bilancie, e pesi non / giusti, si come si arrischiano di contravenire hora con alterare li pesi dell' impronte / correnti, cosi sapranno alterare anco li altri di imprompta nuova. /

Anzi supplica la S̄ta V̄ra à far rifflesione, che al p(rese)nte essendoci li pesi senza gabel/la ogni Artigianuccio, ogni particolare ha il suo peso, dal che ne risulta che ogni / persona benche incognita ripesa anco piu d'una volta, e la moneta e le altre robbe / dove che facendosi nuovi pesi con la gabellatta dell' Archibugiere la maggiore parte / si asterra di comprar pesi e da pesare alle pouere genti, quali percio restaranno piu / facilmente imgannate, e per questo rispetto non si e mai da alcun Prencipe / angustiato il peso dell' oro, conforme pretende hora da fare questo nuovo architetto./ Si supplica pertanto con ogni humiltà la S̄ta V̄ra a volersi degnare d' ordinare / che si consideri quanto possa esser pregiuditiale questa nuova inventione / et insieme ordinare, che non si presti orecchie a simile Inventori.

Che il tutto etc.

Silverwork was not to be (in 1508) of a lower grade than that of the bolognini[1] and carlini. Silver of the bolognini standard was to be marked

[1] Gianfrancesco Pagnini in his *Storia Della Decima o Gravezza Della Moneta e Della Mercatura de' Fiorentini Fino al Secolo xvi* (Lucca, 1765–67. 4 vols. 4to, in the 4th vol. p. 143) prints an account of the alloys used in some of the cities of Italy, from a MS. by Giovanni d'Antonio de Uzzano.

On the standard used in Bologna vide: Lino Sighinolfi *Sulla lega dell' argento e gli Statuti degli Orefici di Bologna durante la Signoria di Giovanni da Olleggio.* Originally in *Atti e Mem. di Storia Patria, p. l. prov. Romagna*, vol. 22, Bologna, 1904, pp. 481–504. Also G. E. Salvioni

with the letters S.P.Q.R. The carlini standard was to be marked with Roma and the Keys. The marks were to be impressed before gilding. All work was also to be marked with the shop mark. These individual marks were obligatory and had to be made public under penalty of ten ducats.

By the Statutes of 1815 the marks to be used on gold and silver plate made by the Goldsmiths of Rome were as follows:—

All gold- or silversmiths opening a shop were required to possess a mark consisting of the initial letters of the name of each individual, which letters were to be divided by a cypher to be assigned to each by the Consuls, the whole being enclosed in a lozenge, thus: <>. This mark was to be used for gold as well as silver, and had to be registered before the opening of the shop. These marks had to be stamped on three different pieces of metal, no other craftsman in the same district being allowed to have a similar mark. One of these pieces of stamped metal was then deposited at the office of the Bollo; a second was registered with the Consuls and the third with the notary, to be attached to the Records in the case. The maker's mark had to be impressed on each object in a place where it was not liable to be defaced or destroyed. This had to be done before the object could be carried to the office of the Bollo for the official mark.

The Goldsmiths of the Papal State outside Rome, in lieu of a number between the initials of the maker, had to exhibit the initial letter of the place where the object had been made, in the following way: in a lozenge <> at the sides were to be placed the maker's initials, above, the initial of the town where the object was made, and below, the initial letter of the office of the Bollo. Of these marks only two specimens were required; one had to be registered with the local governor and the other at the office of the Bollo.

As it was possible, owing to the existence of old plate, that some confusion might arise in the recognition of the standard of this, it was ordered that all new work in gold and silver be marked as follows: Gold of 22 carats with the Tiara and Keys and a Wolf. Gold of 18 carats with the Tiara and Keys alone. Silver of the first standard with the Tiara and Keys and a Wolf; second grade with the Tiara alone; third quality with a

Il Valore della Lira Bolognese (originally appeared in the same journal, beginning with vol. 14, published separately, Bologna, 1902) 8vo, pp. 265.

Negrohead in profile. During the transitory period of three months, during which a temporary mark was to be used, the provincial mark consisted of the letters R.C.A., and was used on such work as was already on the market before any work was stamped with the new marks.

The Edict of Cardinal Pacca dated July 25 1817, governing the administration of the mark in the Roman States, outside Rome, modified the regulations which had been in force by virtue of the decrees of December 25 1810 and January 7 1815, as follows :—

The central office of the Bollo is established at Bologna with Ferrara, Forlì, and Ravenna as sub-offices, and agencies at Macerata, Ancona, Fermo, Jesi, Ascoli, and Camerino.

The marks temporarily established are cancelled. The marks instituted by Art. 12 of the Bando of 1815 are confirmed and beside them each office of the mark shall have its own distinctive mark as follows :— Bologna is represented by a capital B ; Ferrara is represented by a capital F, reversed to distinguish it from the F of Fuligno in Umbria ; Forlì has the small type f ; Ravenna an R. The Marches, the Duchy of Camerino and Macerata are distinguished by the letter M and Jesi by the letter I.

The gold- and silversmiths are required to register themselves and their workmen at the above mentioned offices and to impress a specimen of their mark on the general sheet, which shall also contain their full names and addresses.

All gold not already marked being of 18 carat grade is to be stamped with the Tiara ; silver not already marked, but of any standards between 9 oncie 14 denari and 10 oncie 16 denari shall be marked with the head of the negro and the letters R. C. A.

For the Marches and the Duchy of Camerino those objects of gold and silver already bearing the marks established by the two Edicts of 1810 are exempt from taxation and are to be countermarked with the mark R. C. A. Other objects already marked but not verified shall bear the new mark N. R. (Non Riconosciuto), which shall vary in form according as it is impressed on gold or silver.

There are exempted from the effect of these regulations, all objects in gold or silver already in circulation and those marked with the marks of the late kingdom of Italy or marked with Arabic numerals indicating their respective inferior quality. Such objects shall nevertheless be

countersigned with the R. C. A. stamp, and those bearing Arabic numerals with the N. R. stamp.

Watches mounted in gold or silver of foreign manufacture are exempted from the mark. Watch cases made in the Roman states require the mark.

Pl. XVI, Fig. 1, shows specimens of copperplates with Goldsmiths' names and marks, mostly of the 17th century, now the property of the Corporation of Goldsmiths of Rome. In the centre, at the bottom are standards of gold of different qualities—pieces of copper tipped with gold for testing on the touchstone alongside of the rubbing from the object to be tested.

Pl. XVII, Fig. 1, on which will be seen the mark used by the Goldsmiths of Rome in the seventeenth century, is a photograph of two small boxes of wood discovered by me in the Museum at Como. These boxes have let in them the marks employed by gold- and silversmiths in thirteen of the principal cities of Italy, besides the Malta mark. They are probably unique as a collection. The marks of Palermo, Rome, Genoa, and Venice are all of the seventeenth century. Those of Naples and Florence are earlier. Pl. XVII, Fig. 2 shows marks belonging to the Papal States outside Rome: these are also preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Goldsmiths of Rome.

Papal Patronage of the Goldsmiths.

The wealth of the Papal Court under Boniface VIII (1294–1303) may be estimated by the Inventory published by Molinier. Nicholas V and Paul II both spent vast sums of money in jewellery and plate. Besides this there must have been an equally great store of gifts in the shape of jewels, sacred and profane objects, which were presented to the Popes by religious orders and private individuals.

To go into any detail of the many wonderful objects wrought by the goldsmiths, Romans as well as foreigners, for the Popes is beyond the scope of these notes, but the mention of some examples of work which is recorded in Treasury orders for payment or in Papal inventories and other documents may be useful in stimulating the desire of the student to learn more, and thus some further light may be thrown on the arts and crafts of Papal Rome, and on the history of costumes and personal adornment during the Mediaeval and Renaissance periods.

Those productions of the goldsmith's art, ordered by the Popes, which are better known outside Italy, are the Golden Rose, the Ducal Cap of Honour, the Blessed Sword, and the Ring of Investiture. The most famous of these is the Golden Rose, which was bestowed on Princes who had done service to Christendom, and especially to the Church of Rome. Throughout all periods the names of the most celebrated goldsmiths working in Rome have been associated with the production of this highly prized honour. Few of the older Golden Roses have survived. There is one in the Cluny Museum, No. 5005 of the catalogue, which was apparently presented by Clement V to the Cathedral of Basle. An illustration of it will be found in Molinier's *Histoire Générale des Arts Appliqués à l'Industrie du V^e^ à la fin du XVII^e^ siècle*, vol. iv; *L'Orfèvrerie Religieuse et Civile*, 1re Partie, p. 245 (Paris, Levy, S. a. fol. illustrated). It is also illustrated in *Annales Archéologiques*, vol. xix. p. 83.

Two Golden Roses are preserved in the Cappella Ricca of the Royal Palace at Munich. They were gifts from Urban XIII and Pius VIII.

At the Exhibition of Ancient Art, held at Siena in 1904, two Golden Roses belonging to the city of Siena were exhibited. One was the Rose sent by Pius II to Siena in 1458, restored in 1552, 1674, and 1801 (of which a photograph by Alinari is available), and the other was the gift of Alexander VII to the Cathedral of Siena in 1658.

Several Golden Roses were conveyed to the United Kingdom. Sir Charles Young's rare, privately printed, notes on the subject may be consulted. Alexander II sent a Rose to Scotland, and another followed in 1486 from Innocent VIII to James III. Henry VIII apparently received the Rose from Leo X and Clement VIII (1524). Julius III sent the Rose in 1555 to Queen Mary, and Urban VIII in 1625 gave the Rose of that year to Queen Henrietta Maria.

The Golden Rose was principally sent to princesses and churches. For princes there were the Sword and Cap of Honour. Gaetano Moroni in his *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastico da S. Pietro a nostri giorni* (103 vols. and 6 vols. of Index: Venezia, Tipo. Emiliana, 1840–79) describes the Rosa d'Oro, the Beretto Ducale, and the Stocco. A drawing of the Stocco given by Nicholas V to Venice in 1450 may be seen in the Albums of Gravenboch preserved in the Museo Correr at Venice.

The Cap conferred on princes by the Pope together with the Blessed

Sword was of violet silk lined with ermine. Around the outside it had a band shaped like a jewelled coronet, exhibiting the emblems of the dove and the sun. It was given amongst others to Philip of Spain, consort of Queen Mary of England, on which occasion Mary received the Rose. A Stocco went to England in 1482.[1]

The Papal Tiara was perhaps the object of the goldsmith's art on which most treasure has been spent. The student should read the able notes on *La Tiare Pontificale,* published by E. Muntz. A bibliography will be found therein. The recent discovery by the Rev. H. Thurston in the British Museum of a coloured drawing of the Tiara made by Caradosso for Julius II will be found described by him in the *Dolphin* of Philadelphia, vol. iv, p. 306, and in the *Burlington Magazine*, London, October 1905, p. 37, both illustrated.

With regard to other objects it will be found that Pius II on June 19, 1461, paid 1000 ducats for two crystal flasks, and a nef[2] of gold and silver for his table (Muntz: *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes* (*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d' Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 4), i. 316).

Paul II (1464–1471) possessed a silver gilt saltcellar with silver horses on gilt wheels in the shape of a nef. The interior was gilt. On the top was a pearl and the Pope's arms.

In 1550 we find Girolamo of Ferrara, goldsmith, being paid for nineteen beads of gold put into a perfumed rosary[3] for the use of the Pope (Bertolotti, *Artisti Bolognesi*, p. 100).

The offer of silver Communion Cups to the churches of Rome was a common practice. Piazza, *Opere Pie di Roma*, 2nd ed. 1699, chap. ix, p. 149, gives a list of the annual offerings of such cups which were made in his day. Several chirographs regarding such offerings are in my collection.

In 1560 Pius V, in order to honour the memory of his predecessor, Paul IV, whose statue had been hurled from its base, ordained that the

[1] Amongst the property of the Signoria of Florence in 1437, in an inventory in the archives at Florence, occurs the following: '*A sword with silver gilt scabbard, with enamelled rosettes, and the knob of crystal.* A hat of long beaver, lined with ermine, with a dove and two buttons of *pearls.*' (Inventory of the Plate and Property of the Signoria of Florence, 1437.) Carte del Corredo della Signoria. Anni 1429–1457, fol. 15 in Archivio di Stato, Florence. This was the gift of Eugene IV. Golden roses sent to Florence also occur in the Inventories at Florence.

[2] In 1392 Manfred d'Alagona, in Sicily, possessed a nef of silver on wheels. (Silvestri: *Dei pubblici Archivi in Italia* in *Rivista Sicula*, Palermo, 1872, vol. viii, p. 240.)

[3] On the Rosary *vide* Herbert Thurston *The History of the Rosary in all Countries* (in *Society of Arts Journal*, London, 1902, p. 261, pp. 16, 6 illustrations).

Roman Senate should be present every 17th of January at a mass to be said in the church of S. Eustachio. Later this ordinance was converted into the offering of a silver chalice to the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, where Paul IV was buried (Cantu: *Gli eretici d'Italia*, vol. ii, p. 26; Torino, Unione Tipo. Editrice, 1856–60).

In the *Regesta Clementis V*, p. 401, there is the mention of a 'pomum ambre contru reuma fornitum desuper de auro et habet sex costules per longum, et duos circulos in capitibus, et in dictis costis et circulis sunt munte perle grosse, granati et turchesie . . .'

Nicholas V possessed a 'pala di muschio aurata.' Clement VII had an emerald which was considered an amulet against the plague.

With regard to amulets, Boniface VIII is said to have had a ring which he wore as an amulet against evil spirits. The same is reported of Paul II. From the Inventory of Boniface VIII, published by Molinier, it will be seen that item 1499 refers to four pieces of unicorn, long and twisted. These horns were used to test food. If when thrust into the food they were found to sweat, it was a sign of the presence of poison in the viands. John XXII borrowed a famous horn of this kind from Countess Margherita di Foix. It was set in a silver handle like a knife. Clement V and Benedict XI also possessed similar charms.[1]

Of Pontifical Rings of Investiture several are known. One is to be seen in the Tesoro of St. Peter's, another with the arms of Eugene IV is in the Museo Correr at Venice; one bearing the name of Calixtus III is at the Hague; one in the Cluny Museum and another in the Cathedral at Gran have the arms of Sixtus IV. At Siena in 1904 a Pontifical Ring of Pius II was exhibited.

Of ordinary rings the Papal Inventories already published give many interesting particulars. Boniface VIII (1295) possessed a diamond set in an iron ring. The same Pope had an antique ring in which a fractured emerald and sixteen pearls were set. At the back of this there was an episcopal figure in niello. Amongst the rings left by Paul IV in 1559 there was one with an elongated table diamond set in gold with black enamelling subsequently changed to enamelling of white, green, and red to represent the three virtues: faith, hope, and charity.

Part of the insignia of the Roman Senator were three rings, one a diamond, another a ruby, and the third of emerald. Round his neck the

[1] Luigi Fumi *Usi e Costume Lucchesi*: *Superstizione* (Lucca, Giusti, 8vo, 1905, pp. 63–65).

Senator wore a chain of gold. He also wore jewelled gloves and carried a sceptre.[1]

Urban VIII in 1624 ordered the payment to his goldsmith and jeweller Pietro Spagna of 1200 scudi for the gold required in making the chains and medals which were usually conferred on Swiss envoys.[2]

With regard to emblematic rings, Giov. Stef. Menocchio in his *Stuore Centuria* XI, tomo II, p. 290 mentions the mystic gift of four rings sent by the Pope Innocent III to Richard of England. These rings were of Emerald to represent Faith, Sapphire for Hope, the Garnet for Love, and the Topaz for Duty.

On the Fisherman's ring *vide* F. Cancellieri: *Notizie sopra l'origine e l'uso dell' anello piscatorio e degli altri anelli ecclesiastici* (Roma, Bourliè 1823. 8°. p. viii.+88); O. Morgan: *Episcopal Rings of Investiture* (in *Archaeologia*, London, vol. xxxvi, 392); E. Waterton: *The Fisherman's Ring* (in *Archaeologia*, vol. xl, 138). In vol. iii of P. Sarnelli's *Lettere Ecclesiastiche* (Napoli, Bulifon, 1686. 4°) p. 84, the Pontifical ring is treated of.

The Agnus Dei were made of wax and were blessed in Holy Week by the Pope who sent them to favoured individuals. Some of the most famous goldsmiths were employed in the preparation of the dies for casting these emblems. On one side is usually the Holy Lamb carrying a flag, and on the other side is a representation of some Saint or sacred subject together with the title and arms of the reigning Pontiff. (*Vide* Bertolotti: *Artisti Lombardi*, vol. i. p. 321; vol. ii. p. 184, etc.; Barbier de Montault: *Un Agnus de Grégoire XI.*) Pl. XVI. Figs. 2, 3 represent the obverse and reverse of an Agnus Dei of Innocent XII made for the Jubilee of 1700.

Pietro Barbo, the Venetian, who succeeded to the Pontificate as Paul II on August 31, 1464, amongst other evidences of his magnificent patronage of the arts and especially of the goldsmiths had a new Pontifical seal made for the Papal Bulls. Before him and after, as will be seen from Pl. XVIII, Figs. 1, 2 showing the seals of John XXII Innocent VIII and Gregory XIII, the seals bore on one side the name of the reigning Pontiff and on the other a representation of the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul divided by a cross. Paul II had a much more elaborate official seal made for his use.

[1] For bibliography regarding the Senators of Rome, *vide*: Cancellieri, *Solenni Possessi*, p. 381.

[2] Bertolotti *Curiosità storiche della Svizzera raccolte nell' Archivio romano*, in *Bollet. Stor. della Svizzera Ital.* Anno vii. 1885, p. 53.

It will be seen from Pl. XVIII. Fig. 3 that his seal is after the fashion of those employed by the Doges of Venice. On one side he appears seated on the throne surrounded by his Court, his name appearing above; on the other side are full length representations of the Saints Peter and Paul. The whole is a fine example of glyptic art and is probably due to the Florentine goldsmith Simone di Giovanni, who occupied a permanent position in the Papal household.

Michel Cannesio in his *Pauli II Veneti Vita* (Roma 1740) mentions this departure from the usual practice made by this Pope. Cancellieri in his *Memorie Istoriche de' S. Apostoli Pietro e Paolo* (edition of 1806), p. 42 *seq.* gives much information and a bibliography on the subject of the Papal seals and the much discussed question as to which of the two Saints should occupy the place of honour on the seals.

Pl. XVIII. Fig. 3 is taken from a seal in my collection.

Pl. XIX. Figs. 1, 2 represent a jewelled ostensorio now converted into a reliquary and existing in the mountain church of S. Mauro Castelverde, in Sicily. It was presented to the church of his native town by Vincenzo Greco who lived in Rome some sixty years, in high office, being favoured with the confidence of several pontiffs. Through the influence of Donna Plautilla Panfili, sister of Innocent X, he obtained this piece of work and a relic of the true cross which he sent to S. Mauro in 1663. The deed of gift of this finely enamelled instrument of faith, probably of Roman origin, is said to be registered in the Acts of the notary D. Pietro Agnello on May 3, 1663.[1]

STATUTES AND ORDINANCES RELATING TO THE GOLDSMITHS AND SILVERSMITHS OF ROME.

RE (Camillo).

- *Statuti della città di Roma* (1358–1398).

(Roma, Tipo. della Pace, 1880), chapter cxlii., p. 167, treats of the goldsmiths and their work.

[1] Salvatore Salerno *Illustrazione storica ed artistica di un antico ostensorio esistente nella Chiesa madre dedicata a S. Giorgio in S. Mauro Castelverde.* (Palermo, Fiore, 1879, 8vo, pp. 8.) In photographing this object the relic of the true cross has been removed in order that the enamelling behind it might be seen. These photographs were taken by me; they were published by Enrico Mauceri in *Arte*, x (1907) fasc. i, p. 63.

RODOCANACHI (E.).

Les Corporations Ouvrières à Rome depuis la chute de l'Empire Romain.
(Paris, Picard, 1894, 2 vols., 4to, illustrated, pp. cx+178, 470.)

—— *De l'Organisation des Corporations Ouvrières de Rome au moyen âge et à l'époque moderne.*
(In *Séances et Travaux de L'Acad. des Sciences Morales et Politiques de France*, March, 1894.)

BRESCIANO (Giov.).

Bibliografia Statutaria delle Corporazioni romane di Arti e Mestieri.
(In *Rivista delle Biblioteche e degli Archivi*, Firenze, Olschki, 1900, vol. xi, pp. 132–134.)

ANTOLINI (P. A.).

Thesavrus / Legalis / Vniversitatis / Avrificvm / Vrbis / cum Annotationibus / D. Petri Avgvstini Antolini / . . . Pars Prima. In qua continentur Statuta eiusdem / Vniversitatis, pp. 8, nn. 127.

Pars Secunda. In qua continentur Declarationes eiusdem Vniversitatis, pp. 2–42.

Pars Tertia. / In qua continentur Privilegia Apostolica et varia Decreta. Pp. 43–70 (the pagination continues from Part II) followed by 20 unnumbered pages of Index.

At page 2 of Part I is to be found a list of the office-bearers of the Guild, on June 23, 1508. The Statutes consist of 55 chapters. Each chapter is followed by a commentary. These occupy from pp. 1 to 127 (1 blank) of Part I. Part II, with a new pagination, pp. (i–iv) 1–42, contains Declarations regarding the execution of the Statutes. Part III, containing 4 unnumbered pages, followed by the continuation of the pagination of Part II to p. 70 together with 20 unnumbered pages of Index, contains:—the Brief of Julius II., dated June 12, 1509, granting the Università of the Goldsmiths of Rome the right to build a church to S. Eligio in Via Giulia, near the Tiber; to maintain a chaplain and to meet at the said church in order to institute Statutes and Ordinances for the welfare of the Art (p. 48).

The Brief of Gregory XIII, dated September 18, 1582, reforming the Statutes (p. 51).

Brief of Paul V, dated October 22, 1611, granting the Università the right to liberate a member of their body who is under condemnation to

death, provided it is not for sacrilege, assassination, lèse-majesté, or coining (p. 57).

Brief of Innocent X, dated July 27, 1646, confirming the Statutes (p. 59).

Approval of the Statutes by Raphael Riario, Cardinale di S. Giorgio dated August 3, 1509 (p. 60).

Then follows a summary of the Decrees in the Archives of the Goldsmiths.

Decree dated July 29, 1563,[1] limiting the appraisal of gold- and silver-work beyond the value of one scudo to the Consuls (p. 62).

Decree dated May 20, 1567, ordering a penalty for opening a shop without a licence from the Consuls (p. 62).

The use of glass doubled with precious stones prohibited by the Bando of the Presidente della Zecca dated October 21, 1572 (p. 62).

Confirmation of the prohibition contained in the Bando of the President of the Zecca, dated October 21, 1572, against the employment of glass doubled with a thin stratum of precious stones (p. 62).

Decree, dated March 22, 1594, prohibiting the employment of unlicensed workmen, or working in secret (p. 62).

Decree, dated September 1, 1609, enacting the right of the client to be provided with a declaration of the value and weight of the work done for him (p. 62).

Decree, dated July 13, 1618, ordering the closing of the shops during the celebration in the church of certain offices (p. 63).

Decree, dated June 8, 1618, ordering the attendance of all Goldsmiths in the church on the last Sunday in the month, on which a grosso shall be paid by each member of the Guild: failure in attendance is to be marked by a fine of 2 carlini (p. 63).

Decree of July 12, 1624, prohibiting the employment of apprentices who have not completed their articles (p. 63).

Decree, dated May 25, 1625, prohibiting the use or sale of false stones weighing over twelve grains. The keys of the Archives and Treasury shall be kept, one by the Camerlengo, and the other by another Consul (p. 63).

[1] This is apparently not the same as the reformed Statutes of Cardinal Sforza, mentioned in the Bando Generale of 1815, p. 4, which are dated July 17, 1563; in this same Bando Generale a Bando dated October 28, 1608, is also cited.

Decree of July 12, 1628, imposing a fine of 2 scudi for those who refuse office as Consigliere or Syndic (p. 63).

Decree, dated November 28, 1628, prohibiting members of the Guild from dealings with diamond merchants not members of the Guild. Orders that all litigation concerning Goldsmiths and their work shall be brought before the Consuls only (p. 64).

List of the officials and mastercraftsmen of the Guild in the current year 1655 (p. 64).

(Romae, Ex Typografia R. Cam. Apost. 1655. Frontispiece.)

This rare and valuable commentary on the Statutes of the Goldsmiths of Rome is to be found in the British Museum, in the Casanatense Library in Rome, at the Archivio di Stato in Rome, and also in the Library of the German Institute in Rome. A copy is in my collection.

Statuti dell' Università Riformati nell' anno 1509 sotto il Pontificato di Giulio Secondo. MS.

(Fol. 1 is of paper, and contains above title; it is followed by six blank unnumbered folios of vellum; on back of fol. 6 the text begins. Fols. 7 and 8 contain Index, then follow xxxiii numbered folios and a note on chap. xxxviii. The whole consists of 54 chapters. On an unnumbered folio is a confirmation of these Statutes dated August 22, MDL. Covers of stamped brown leather over wood boards. The text measures 221 × 164 mm. Is in the Archives of the Consorzio degli Orafi di Roma, in Via Giulia, formerly the Nobile Collegio degli Orefici.)

Statuti. MS. In brown leather cover over boards of wood, S. Eligio in centre, gilt corners, two missing clasps; five blank folios, on 6th, rect. 'Copia / Autentica delli Statuti dell' Università degli / Orefici.'

Fol. 7 begins: Perche per l'osservanza delli presenti statuti dell' Università / delli orefici suole molte volte occorrere che bisogna portarne / l'originale o almeno copie autentiche . . .'

Fol. 8 Copia del Breve della facolta di liberare / il Prigione / dated October 22, MDCXI.

Fol. 10 Tabula Capitulorum libri primi. All the preceding folios (12) are unnumbered. 27 numbered and 2 unnumbered follow.

Fol. 24 (retro) Authentification of the Statutes, all of which is in the handwriting of Cesare de Theobaldis, Notary of the Goldsmiths and dated December 1, 1578, Ind. 6.

Fol. 26. Contains a list of the mastercraftsmen of the Collegio et Università degli Orefici in the year 1578, under the Pontificate of Gregory XIII. There are notes on the penultimate folio. It belongs to the Archives of the Goldsmiths in Via Giulia.

The Casanatense Library in Rome possesses a MS. copy of the Statutes of the Goldsmiths of Rome transcribed in 1578. MS. 4to of 42 pp., of which 35 are written. XX. vii. 32 of the Catalogue.

Original Brief of Sixtus V dated November 8, 1575, Ind. xiii, confirming the Statutes. Is in the Archives of the Goldsmiths.

Note.—In the Archives of the Goldsmiths there are various original Papal Indulgences relating to religious observances of which I have taken no note.

Novi Capituli fatti tra li Signori Maestri della Nobil Arte degli Orefici ed Argentieri e li Signori Giovani Lavoranti.

From the text it appears that there were Statutes on the same subject dated 1692, 1717, 1720, and 1736.

(MS. 330×225 mm. fol. 1–5 blank, then Index; followed by 27 numbered and 3 nn. blank. Fol. 1 contains Brief of Clement XI dated October 5, 1720. The Capitoli begin on fol. 2. There is a copy in the Archivio Capitolino. The above details are from an MS. in my collection.)

Bando Generale of Cardinal Annibale Albani, dated May 25, 1725.

Bando Generale, dated June 22, 1725.

Notificazione of Monsignor Mario Bolognetti, Presidente della Zecca, dated April 5, 1728, confirming the dispositions of the Bando Generale, dated May 25, 1725, regarding the payment of 2 Giulj every year by those who sell spoons, forks, rings, and such like, whether in shops or by peddling.

(In Rome, Stamp. della R.C.A. 1728. Sheet 225×315 mm. Consists of 26 lines of printed matter.)

Notificazione of Annibale Cardinale Albani, dated September 17, 1728, amplifying the Notification, dated April 5, 1728.

(In Rome, Stamp. della R.C.A. 1728, fol.)

Notificazione di Mario Bolognetti, Presidente della Zecca, dated October 15, 1728, calling attention to the Bando Generale of June 22, 1725, requiring all gold- and silversmiths to secure a warrant before opening a shop.

(In Roma, Stamp. della R.C.A. 1728.)

Bando / Generale / sopra quello, che deue osseruarsi / dagli Orefici, Argentieri, e da altri, che comprano ven-/dono, e in qualsiuoglia / modo maneggiano, / e contratano Oro / ed Argento in / Roma e nello / Stato Eccles-/iastico. /

Dated July 16, 1734, Arms of Clement XII and Cardinal Annibale Albani.

(In Roma, MDCCXXXIV, 4to, p. 28, Stamp. della R.C.A.)

The Statutes of 1740 mention a Decree of Cardinal Ottoboni, dated March 28, 1735; a Decree, dated July 28, 1737; Decree of Cardinal Ottoboni, dated January 30, 1738.

Nuovo Statuto del Nobile Collegio degli Orefici ed Argentieri di Roma, confermato della S. di Clemente XII del 1739.

(MS. original, in Archives of the Guild of the Goldsmiths of Rome, dated August 14th, 1739, folio: 1 blank, 17 written and 4 blank leaves.)

Notificazione of Nicolo Casari, Presidente della Zecca, dated Rome May 14, 1739, prolonging the Notification of April 18, 1739 for ten days more.

Nuovo / Statuto / Del / Nobil Collegio degl' Orefici, / ed Argentieri di Roma, / Confermato / In forma specifica dalla Santita Di Nostro Signore / Clemente XII Felicemente Regnante. /

(In Roma, MDCCXL, Stamp. della R.C.A. 4to, pp. 48.)

Editto contro li Bancarotti, Ebrei, Regattieri ed altri Rivenditori d'oro ed argento anche lavorato con gioje. Signed by Cardinal Silvio Valente and dated September 8, 1747.

(Roma, Stamp. della R.C.A. 1747.)

Notificazione del Presidente della Zecca F. Chigi, a di 9 Marzo, 1743: begins 'Essendo oltre modo cresciuto in quest' Alma citta.'

(Roma, Stamp. R.C.A. April 1, 1743. Folio sheet.)

Nuovo / Statuto / del / Nobil Collegio degl' Orefici, ed Argentieri di Roma / confermato / in forma specifica della Santita / di Nostro Signore / Clemente XII / felicemente Regnante.

(In Roma, MDCCXL, Stamp. R.C.A. Frontispiece, pp. 56, 4to.

Contains Brief of Clement XII, dated July 28, 1739, reforming the Statutes; the Statutes in xxvii chapters; the Brief of Julius II of 1509; the Brief of Gregory XIII of September 18, 1582; Brief of Paul V of October 2, 1611; Brief of Innocent X, dated July 27, 1646. A list of the

officials and craftsmen of the Corporation in 1740. Brief of Benedict XIV approving amendments and additions to the Statutes of Clement XII, which were printed in Rome during the year 1739. These new resolutions are contained in nine chapters. They received the Papal sanction on April 20, 1752, and are printed on pages 47 to 56 of the present text, thus showing that the title does not describe this work accurately. It was evidently not printed in 1740, as in the imprint, but in 1752 or after.)

Benedictus Papa XIV. Motu proprio, etc., dated August 31, 1750. Begins: 'In sequela di nostro special rescritto per / mezzo del nostro Uditore emanato sotto il / di 19, dello scorso mese di Luglio, col. / ' Confirms the Edict of Cardinal Silvio Valente, dated September 8, 1747, and reproduces it.

(Romae, MDCCL, Ex Typo. R.C.A. 4to, pp. 8, of which 7 and 8 are blank.)

A Statuto dated 1752 is mentioned in the Editto of 1820.

Editto of Cardinal Girol. Colonna, 'Di abolizione di una Risoluzione presa dal Collegio degli Orefici,' limiting the admission to the guild, dated November 27, 1761.

Bando Tariffa Tassativa delle manifatture di argento colle respettive Gabelle che si dovranno esigere per l'introduzione nello Stato Pontificio e nella citta di Roma.

(In Roma, MDCCXC, Stamp. della, R.C.A. 4to, pp. 6.)

Bando Generale per gli Orefici, Argentieri ed altri che comprano, vendono e in qualsivoglia modo maneggiano e contrattano Oro e Argento in Roma, e nello Stato Ecclesiastico. Dated January 7, 1815.

(In Roma, 1815, ed in Bologna, 1816, nella Stamperia Camerale, 4to, pp. 23, unnumbered.)

In this Bando Statutes are mentioned, dated July 17, 1563, published by Cardinal Sforza, and Bandi, dated October 28, 1608, May 25, 1725, July 16, 1734, and others dated February 14, 1630, 1639, and 1666. A copy in my collection consists of 32 pages of print in 4to.

The Statutes contained in this document are a reformation of those which preceded it. At page 3, below the title of Cardinal Pacca, it begins as follows: 'La Santità di Nostro Signore sollecita sem-/pre ed instancabile su tutto quello, che puo concor-/rere alla felicità de' suoi amatissimi sudditi.' This Statute had effect in the city of Rome and its immediate neighbourhood only.

Editto / dell' Emo, e Rmo Sig. / Card. Pacca / Camerlengo di S. Chiesa / Publicato per gli Ufficj del Bollo, e per i Fabbricatori / e venditori di Materie d'Oro e d'Argento dello Stato / Ecclesiastico, e piu direttamente per l'organizzatione / delle Ufficj del Bollo di questi preziosi Metalli / nelle Legazioni, e nelle Marche /. In data dei 25 Luglio, 1817.

Three Coats of Arms.

(In Roma, Presso Vincenzo Poggioli, fol. pp. 10. A copy in the Archives of the Goldsmiths of Rome has the printer's name as follows: In Roma presso Vincenzo Poggioli ed in Bologna presso Parmeggiani e Camberini, pp. 8, undated. The first imprint is from a copy in my collection. This Edict extends the operations of the Statutes of January 7, 1815 to the whole of the Papal States, and establishes identical control over gold and silver work all over the States. Some modifications have been made.)

Nuovo Statuto del Nobil Collegio degli Orefici ed Argentieri di Roma confermato . . . di N.S. . . . Pio VII, in 28 chapters.

(Roma Stamp. della, R.C.A. 1820, 4to, pp. 40. This is a modification of all previous Statutes beginning with that dated April 20, 1752, and ending with those dated January 7, 1815 and July 25, 1817. Contains a list of the members of the guild in 1820.)

Decreto emanato dall' Eminentissimo Principe il Sig. Cardinale Giacomo Giustiniani, Camerlengo di S. R. Chiesa, sotto il dì 20 Settembre, 1838, in cui si prescrivono nuove riforme allo Statuto. (Regarding the election of office-bearers.)

(Roma, Tipo. Camerale, 1838, fol. pp. 3.)

Statuto del Nobil Collegio dei Giojellieri Orefici ed Argentieri di Roma, confermata in forma specifica della felice memoria di Papa Pio Settimo.

(Roma, Tito Ajani, 1863. Frontispiece, pp. 34, fol.)

Statuto della Soc. di M.S. degli Orefici di Roma.

(Roma, Vaselli, 1872, pp. 19, 214 × 144 mm.)

Estratto della Congregazione Generale del Nobil Collegio degli Orefici ed Argentieri di Roma tenuta li 2 Feb. 1873, con relazione e progetto dei Rappresentanti del Collegio ed articoli approvati.

(Roma, Tipo. Letteraria, pp. 8, 190 × 140 mm.)

Statuto del Consorzio degli Orafi ed Argentieri capi d'arte di Roma.

(Roma, Vaselli, 1876, pp. 23, 207 × 140 mm.)

Statuto della Societa di Mutuo Soccorso degli Orefici di Roma.
(Roma, Salviucci, 1877, pp. 21, 211 × 140 mm.)

Ai Signori Componenti il Nobile Collegio dei Gioellieri, Orefici ed Argentieri di Roma (Circolare), June 25, 1873.
(S. l.n.d. Tipo. Letteraria, 176 × 125 mm.)

Statuto del Consorzio degli Orafi ed Argentieri capi d'arte di Roma.
(Roma, D. Vaselli, 1893, pp. 19, 189 × 147 mm.)

It should be noted that in the Biblioteca Casanatense, at Rome, and probably also in the Archivio Capitolino, there is a vast collection of Papal Decrees, a search through which will possibly disclose various notifications and ordinances regarding which it has not yet been possible to secure information.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

ANASTASIUS.
Inventaria ecclesiarum urbis Romae, ab Anastasio, S. R. E. bibliothecario, saeculo IX, et libro Pontificali inserta.
(Oxford, Parker, 1864, 8vo, pp. 90.)

ANGELIS (De).
Basilicae S. Mariae Majoris . . . descriptio ac delineatio.
(Romae, Ex Typographia Bartholomaei Zannetti, 1621.)

ANGUS (George).
Golden Rose.
(In London *Notes and Queries*, Ser. VII, vol. xi, p. 432.)

ARMELLINO (Mariano).
Un censimento della città di Roma sotto il Pontificato di Leone X.
(Ext. fr. *Gli Studi in Italia*, Rome, A. Befani, 1882, 8vo, pp. 143.)

BADDELEY (St. Clair).
The Pope's Golden Rose.
(In *Notes and Queries*, Ser. VIII, vol. iv, 1894, pp. 238, 517.)

BALDASSARI (Antonio).
La Rosa d'Oro, che si benedisce nella quarta Domenica di quaresima.
(Venezia, 12mo, MDCCIX, pp. xxii + 191.)

—— Ristampato in Venezia MDCCLIX presso Simone Occhi, Con varie importantissime giunte ora nuovamente inscritevi, spettanti anco

a' funzioni fatte in Venezia nel ricevere il dono delle Rosa d'Oro, come apparisce dall' avviso ai lettori.

(Sm. 8vo, pp. xii + 147.)

The additions are:

Lettera di Benedetto XIV alla ch. metrop. di Bologna sopra la Rosa d'oro mandata in dono alla stessa chiesa, l'anno 1751, p. 101. Relazione della solenne cavalcata e di tutte le funzioni fatte dal S. P. Clemente XIIII per le benedizioni della Rosa d'oro li 25 Marzo dell' anno corrente 1759, p. 120.

BALDASSARI (Antonio).

Funzione fatta in Venezia nell' anno 1577 per la Rosa d'oro mandata in dono al Doge Sebast. Veniero da Gregorio XIII, p. 128.

—— Funzione fatta in Venezia nell' anno 1597 per la Rosa d'oro spedita in dono a Morosina Morosini Grimani da Clemente VIII come viene descritta dallo Stringa (il quale vi si trovò presente) nelle Giunte alla 'Venezia descritta' da Frans. Sansovino, p. 137.

—— I Pontificj / Agnus dei / dilucidati /.

(Engraved frontispiece. Terza impressione. Venezia, MDCCXIV, Presso Andrea Poletti, 8vo, pp. 16–279. At the end there is a new title: Quarta edizione. Venezia, the same printer, MDCCXVI. This edition contains six additional chapters after chap. 19 in previous editions, pp. 16–78.)

BALDESCHI (Ales.) e CRESCIMBENI (Gio. Mario).

Stato della chiesa papale Lateranense nell' anno MDCCXXIII.

(Roma S. Michele, 1723, 4to, pp. xvi + 187, and a Giunta at end. 2 illustrations in text and 3 plates.)

BARBIER DE MONTAULT (X.).

Œuvres Complètes.

(Poitiers, Blais, Roy et Cie., 1889–1899, Tom. XI, in 14 vols. 8vo.)

—— Notice sur l'état de l'église nationale de S. Louis des Français à Rome.

(In *Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiq. de l'Ouest*, vol. xxi, p. 245, Poitiers, 1855.)

The same.

(Poitiers, 1855, 8vo, pp. 128.)

Also in *Œuvres Complètes*, vol. i, pp. 14–267.

BARBIER DE MONTAULT (X.).

Le Cardinal d'Estouteville, bienfaiteur des Églises de Rome.
(Angers, 1859, 8vo, pp. 26.)
The same.
(In *Commission Archéologique de Marne et Loire* ; vol. i.)
Also in *Œuvres Complètes*, vol. i. pp. 5–29.

—— Reliquaire de S. Lazare à S. Pierre du Vatican.
(In *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, xvii, 1874, p. 208.)

—— Une Croix processionale du XIV Siècle au Musée Chrétien du Vatican.
(In *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, xxxvii, 1894, p. 465.)

—— Les Orfèvres et Joailliers à Rome.
(In *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, xxxix, 1896, pp. 179, 309.)

—— Inventaire du Pape Jean XXII (1318–1324).
(In *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, xl, 1897, pp. 409, 491.)

—— Les Musées et les Galeries de Rome. Catalogue Général.
(Rome, Spithover, 1870, 16mo, pp. iv+585. In *Œuvres Complètes*, vol. ii, pp. 3–283.)

—— Inventaires de la Basilique de S. Pierre.
(In *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, 1888–89. Also in *Mélanges d'Archéologie* (*Œuvres Complètes*, ii. 284), and separately.)

—— Les Croix stationnales de la Basilique du Latran à Rome.
(In *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien* xxxix, 1896, p. 15; also separately: Lille, 1889, 4to, pp. 27.)

—— Anciens inventaires inédits des établissements nationaux de S. Louis-des-Français à Rome.
(In *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, vol. i.)
The same, reprinted.
(Arras, 8vo, 1861, pp. 32 ; Paris, 1861, 8vo, pp. 32 ; *Œuvres Complètes* vol. i., pp. 98–120 ; 263–267.)

—— Étude Archéologique sur le reliquaire du chef de S. Laurent, Diacre et Martyr.
(Rome, 1864, fol. pp. 56.)

—— Les souterrains et le trésor de S. Pierre à Rome, ou description des objets d'art et archéologie qu'ils renferment.
(Rome, 1866, 16mo, pp. 91 ; Rome, Spithover, 1867, 16mo, pp. 91 ; Rome, 1886, 8vo, pp. 91.)

BARBIER DE MONTAULT (X.).
Inventaire de la Basilique de S. Marie-Majeure à Rome.
(In *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, xvi., 1873, pp. 147, 259.)
Also Arras, Laroche, 1873, 8vo, pp. 30, 1 plate.

—— Les Crosses du Musée Chrétien du Vatican.
(*Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, xvii, 1874, p. 31.)
Also Arras, Laroche, 1874, 8vo, pp. 7.

—— Le Symbolisme du bélier sur les crosses d'ivoire de Rome et de Come au moyen âge.
(*Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, xxxiii, 1890, p. 157, illust.)
(Also separately : Lille, 1883, 4to, pp. 23, 2 figures.)

—— Les Gants Pontificaux.
(In *Bulletin Monumental*, 1876–77. Tours, 1877, 8vo, p. 183, 4 plates.)
Also in *Analecta Juris Pontificii* ; Rome-Paris, folio, 1877, vol. xvi. col. 489–507.)

—— Inventaire du Pape Paul IV en 1559.
(In *Bulletin de la Soc. Arch. de Tarne et Garonne*, vol. vii.)
Also Montauban, 1879, 8vo, pp. 56.
(In *Œuvres Complètes*, vol. i, pp. 47–63.)
Is a translation with notes of Bertolotti's text in *Archiv. Stor. di Roma*, vol. ii, pp. 47–63 (Roma, 1877).

—— La grande pancarte de la basilique du Latran.
(In *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, ser. 2, vol. iv & v.)
Also Lille, 1887, 4to, pp. 37.
(In *Œuvres Complètes*, vol i, pp. 398–448.)

—— Le Reliquaire du Denier de Judas à Rome.
(*Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, xxxvi, 1893, p. 214.)

—— La croix simple, double et triple.
(In *Giornale Araldico*, Bari, Jan.—Feb., 1893, p. 48.)
This should be read with reference to the cross with double and treble

bars. The double bar processional and heraldic cross were in use by Patriarchs and Archbishops.

BARBIER DE MONTAULT (X.).

Una croce pettorale del XII Secolo a Roma.
(In *Archiv. Stor. dell' Arte*, Anno IV, 1891, p. 209–214.)
The cross belongs to the convent of S. Carlo a Catinari.

—— Une croix pectorale du XII siècle.
(In *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, 1902, xlv, p. 447.)

—— Les chefs d'œuvre de la sculpture religieuse à Rome à l'époque de la Renaissance.
(Rome, 1876, fol., pp. 39, 141 plates.)

—— Expositions religieuses de Rome. Antiquités chrétiennes photographiées par Ch. Simelli, cataloguées et décrites.
(Rome, 1870, 8vo, pp. 16.)

—— L'Archéologie et l'art Chrétien à l'exposition religieuse de Rome.
(Arras, 1877, 8vo, pp. 63.)

—— Inventaire de la chapelle papale sous Paul III en 1547.
(In *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xlv, Paris, 1878–79; also Tours, 1878, 8vo, pp. 63+68; Arras, Laroche, 1879, 8vo, pp. 130.)
The original is by A. Bertolotti; the translation by L. Palustre, and the notes by B. de Montault.)

—— Le Costume et les insignes du Pape.
(Amiens, 1874, 8vo, pp. 16.)

—— Le Scéau du Saint Office.
(St. Amand (Cher), Bussière frères, 1897, 8vo, pp. 8, plate.)

—— Un Agnus de Grégoire XI, découvert dans les fondations du Château de Poitiers.
(In *Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de l'Ouest*, vol. viii, 1885; also Poitiers, 1886, 8vo, plate, pp. 63.)

—— Traité liturgique, canonique et symbolique des Agnus Dei.
(In *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, vol. viii, col. 1475, Rome, 1865, p. 96.)

—— De la dévotion aux Agnus Dei.
(Rome, 1867, 8vo, pp. 32; Paris, 32mo, pp. 71.)

BARBIER DE MONTAULT (X.).

L'année liturgique à Rome, ou renseignement sur les Saints, les reliques, etc.

(Paris, V. Didron, 1857, 18mo; the same, 2nd ed., Rome, Spithover, 1862, 16mo; the same, 5th ed., Rome, Spithover, 1870, 16mo, p. 339.)

—— L'Anneau d'investiture du Musée de Montauban.

(Montauban, 1881, 8vo, plate. Should be read with reference to Pontifical Rings of Investiture.)

—— La croix de l'Empereur Justin II, au trésor de la basilique de S. Pierre à Rome.

(In *Annales Archéol.*, vol. xxvi, pp. 23–272, Paris, 1869, Illust.)

—— La Croix de Justin II.

(In *Revue de l'art Chrétien* vol. xxii, p. 215.)

—— The signatures of the artists in Rome.

(In Parker's *Archaeology of Rome*, London, 1876, part XI, p. 89.)

—— La Mitre Romaine, Lettre à M. le Directeur du Bulletin Catholique (Paris, 1874, 4to, pp. 8.)

(In *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, vol. xiv, 1875, col. 173–182.)

—— Les Actes Pontificaux (Plombes de la Bulle; Devises, etc.).

(In *Giornale Araldico*, Pisa, 1892, Nos. 1–2, p. 4.)

—— Le Costume et les usages ecclésiastiques selon la tradition romaine.

(Paris, Letouzy, 1898, pp. 500. Illust.)

—— Traité d'iconographie chrétienne.

(Paris, 1890.)

—— Don jubilaire à Leon XIII (from the Emperor of Germany: a ring and a handsomely bound volume).

(In *Giornale Araldico*, Bari 1897, Anno XXV, N. S., vol. vi, March–April, p. 86.)

BARTOLI (Fr.) and GRISONI (J.).

Coloured drawings for John Talman of objects of ecclesiastical art used in pontifical ceremonies at St. Peter's, Rome.

(In British Museum, Add. MS., No. 5239.)

BERTOLINI (Dom).

Sopra l'anno LXVII dell' era volgare se fosse quel del martirio dei gloriosi principi degli apostoli Pietro e Paolo, osservazioni storiche-chronologiche.

(2nda ediz. cresciuta, Roma Tip. Monaldi, 8vo, 1867, pp. 56. Frontispiece contains two antique portraits of the Saints.)

BEDESCHI (Giov.; nom de plume: GYB).

Il 'Raggio' dei Doria-Pamphili (Ostensorio, formerly exhibited in S. Agnese, Rome, on Corpus Christi Day).

(In *Il Messaggero*, Rome, June 14, 1906.)

BELTRAMI (Luca; nom de plume: POLIFILO).

La guardaroba di Lucrezia Borgia.

(Milano, U. Alegretti, MCMIII, 16mo, pp. 110.)

Vide: also on the same subject:

X.

La garde-robe de Lucrèce Borgia.

(In *Revue de la Renaissance*, Paris, vol. iv, 1903.)

BERTOLOTTI (Antonio).

Artisti Belgi ed Olandesi a Roma nei Secoli XVI e XVII.

(Firenze, Tipo. *Gazzetta d'Italia*, 16mo, 1880, pp. v+429.)

—— Giunte agli Artisti Belgi ed Olandesi in Roma nei Secoli XVI e XVII.

(Firenze, 1880, 8vo.) In *Il Buonarrotti*, Rome, July, 1885, Serie III. pp. 85, 122, 152; also separately: Rome, Tipo. Scienze fisiche e matematiche, 1885.

—— Artisti Bolognesi, Ferraresi ed alcuni altri del già Stato Pontificio in Roma nei Secoli XV, XVI e XVII.

In *Docum. e Studj della R. Dep. di Storia Patria per la Romagna*, vol. ii, 1886, pp. xi+296.

(Bologna, Zanichelli, 1886, 8vo, pp. xi+296.)

—— Artisti Francesi in Roma nei Secoli XV, XVI e XVII.

(Mantova, Mondovi, 8vo, 1886, pp. 255+5.)

—— Artisti Lombardi a Roma nei Secoli XV, XVI e XVII.

(Milano, Hoepli, 1881, 2 vols., 16mo, pp. vii+382+1, 387.

BERTOLOTTI (Antonio).
Giunte agli artisti Lombardi in Roma.
(Milano, Bortolotti, 1883.)

—— Artisti Modenesi, Parmensi e della Lunigiana in Roma nei Secoli XV, XVI e XVII. In *Atti della R. Deputazione Modenese* (Modena, Vincenzi, 4to), 1882, p. 123.

—— Artisti Sardi, Siciliani, Corsi e Maltese in Roma nei Secoli XV, XVI e XVII.

—— Alcuni Artisti Siciliani a Roma nei Secoli XVI e XVII: Notizie e documenti.
(In *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, vol. iv. pp. 6, 141; also Palermo, Virzi, 1879, 4to, pp. 38.)

—— Artisti Subalpini in Roma nei Secoli XV, XVI e XVII.
(Torino, Paravia, 1877, 8vo.)
Appendice agli Artisti Subalpini.
(Torino, Paravia, 1878.)

—— The same.
(Mantova, Mondovi, 1884, pp. 284+5.)

—— Artisti Svizzeri in Roma nei Secoli XV, XVI e XVII.
(Bellinzona, Colombi, 1886, 8vo, pp. 71. Appeared originally in *Bullet. Storico della Svizzera Italiana.* Bellinzona, Colombi, 1885; Anno VII, pp. 1–252).

—— Artisti Tedeschi in Roma nei Secoli XV, XVI e XVII.

—— Artisti Urbinati in Roma prima del Secoli XVIII.
(Urbino, Righi, 1881, 8vo, pp. 70. First appeared in *Il Raffaelo* of Urbino.)

—— Artisti Veneti in Roma nei Secoli XV, XVI e XVII.
(Originally in *Miscel. della R. Deput. di Storia Patria di Venezia, Monumenti Storici*, Ser. IV, vol. viii, pp. 99, 4to.

—— Inventaire de la chapelle Papale sous Paul III en 1547. Annoté par Mgr. X. Barbier de Montault.
(In *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xliv, p. 421, xlv, pp. 176–261, Paris, 1878–79; also Tours, 1878, Imprimerie Bouserez; also published in Barbier de Montault's *Œuvres Complètes*, vol. i, Inventaires, p. 268.)

BERTOLOTTI (Antonio).

Spese segrete e pubbliche di Papa Paolo III.

(In *Atti della R. Dep. di Storia Patria dell' Emilia*, 1878; also Modena, Vincenzi, 1878.)

—— Inventari di sculture, pitture ed oggetti di Belle Arti.

(Perugia, 1876, 8vo. In *Giornale di Erudizione*, Perugia.)

—— Giacomo Antonio Moro, Gaspare Mola e Gaspare Morone-Mola, incisore alla zecca di Roma.

(In *Archiv. Stor. Lombardo*, 1877, Anno 4, pp. 295–338; also Milan, Bernardoni, 1877, 8vo.)

—— Einige unbekannte Familiennamen berühmter Künstler.

(Stuttgart, 1880.)

BOCK (Fr.).

Die Kleinodien des Heil-Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation nebst den Kroninsignien Böhmens, Ungarns u. der Lombardei. Mit kunsthistor. Erläuterungen.

(Imp. fol. Wien, 1864, 48 coloured plates and 170 woodcuts.)

The Treasure of St. Peter's at Rome is treated and illustrated (p. 111). There is an illustration of the Cross of Justinian. The Pectoral Cross of Constantine is to be found at p. 115. The Handwarmer (calefactum pomum), p. 117. The Tesoro of Monza, Corona Ferrea, p. 157. The Pectoral Cross of Monza, p. 163. Crown of Teodolinda, p. 165. The Crown of Constance II in the Duomo of Palermo, p. 205. The Pala d'Oro and other Treasures of the Duomo of Milan are illustrated at p. 35.

BOMBELLI.

Raccolta delle Imagini ornate della corona d'oro del Capitolato di San Pietro.

(Roma, 1792, 3 vols.)

BONA (Renato).

Le quattro, sette, e nove Chiese.

(Roma, 1698, 16mo.)

BONNAFFÉ (Edmond).

Les Collectionneurs de l'ancienne Rome.

(Paris, 1867, 12mo.)

BONNAFFÉ (Edmond).

Inventaire de Catherine de Médicis en 1589.

(Paris, 1874, 250 copies, pp. 219. Portrait.)

—— Inventaire de la Duchesse de Valentinois, Charlotte d'Albret (wife of Cesare Borgia) 1514.

(Paris, Quantin, 1878, 300 copies, pp. iv+139, 2 plates.)

BONARDO (Vinc.).

Discorso intorno all' origine, antichità e virtù degli 'Agnus Dei' di Cere Benedetti. Con aggiunta di notizie, miracoli operati per vertù degli Agnus Dei. Con le Cerimonie, etc.

(Roma, Per Vinc. Accolti, 1586, 4to.)

—— Reprinted in 1591, 8vo.

—— There is an edition of Naples 1692, pel Gramignanl (sic) 'con nuoua aggiunta' edited by Michele Guardia. At p. 59 there is a new title: Li segventi miracoli / degli / Agnus Dei / sono cauati dal Ristretto / della vita / del B. PIO V / stampata in Roma / per Nicolo Angelo Tinasi / nell' anno 1672.

(In Napoli, per il Gramignani, 1692, 8vo, pp. 59–90.)

BUSK (Rachel H.).

The Golden Rose.

(In *Notes and Queries*, London, Ser. VII, vol. v, 1888, pp. 384, 510; Ser. VII, vol x, p. 431.)

BUSENELLI.

De Rosa aurea. Epistola.

(Padova, 1759.)

CANCELLIERI (Francesco).

Descrizione / de' tre Pontificali / che si celebrano / nella basilica Vaticana / per le feste di Natale, di Pasqua e di S. Pietro.

(Roma, Salvioni, MDCCLXXXVIII, 182 × 104 mm., 2 plates and frontisp., pp. 162.)

—— The same.

(2nd ed. Rome, Francesco Bourlié, 1814, 8vo, pp. 259 3 plates. Much new material.)

This work was translated into French and published at Paris in 1818. The Stocco is treated of in Chap. II; the Triregno, or Papal

Crown, is described at length; as also the Formale Prezioso, or clasp.

CANCELLIERI (Francesco).

Description des Chapelles Papales de Noël, de Pâques et de S. Pierre. (Rome, Bourlié, 1818, 12mo, 3 plates.)

—— De Secretariis Basilicae Vaticanae veteris ac novae. Libri II. (Romae, Salvioni, 1786, 4 vols., 4to, pp. 1235, 36 plates.)

—— Descrizione della Basilica Vaticana con una biblioteca degli autori che ne hanno trattato.
(Roma, Stamp. Vaticana, 1788, plate, pp. 144, 8vo.)

—— Descrizione delle Funzioni che si celebrano nella Cappella Pontificia, etc.
(Roma, Luigi Perego Salvioni, 1789, 8vo, pp. 162.)
Second ed., augmented, Roma, G. B. Gonzalez, 1801, 8vo, pp. 231; 3rd. ed. Roma, Caetani, 1802, 8vo, pp. 212; 4th ed. Roma, Bourlié, 1818, pp. 316, plate.

—— Description des Cérémonies de la Semaine Sainte dans la Chapelle Pontificale.
(Rome, De Romanis, 1818, pp. 88.)

—— The same 2nd ed. Rome, 1846, revised, 8vo, pp. 108.

—— Memorie storiche delle Sacre Teste dei Santi Apostoli Pietro e Paolo e della loro solenne ricognizione nella Basilica Lateran. con un' appendice di documenti.
(Roma, Stamp. Propaganda Fede, 4to, pp. vii + 109; 8 plates. On bluish paper.)

—— The same.
(Seconda Edizione, Roma, Giov. Ferretti, MDCCCLII, Fol, pp. vi + 109; 8 plates.)
This work is sometimes ascribed to Card. Leonardo Antonelli. At p. 7 of Cancellieri's 'Notizie sopra l'origine dell' anello pescatorio' that author mentions this as his work.

—— Le Dve Nvove Campane / di Campidoglio / benedette della S. di N.S. Pio VII. P.O.M. / descritte con varie notizie sopra i

campanili / e sopra ogni sorta di orologj / ed un appendice di monumenti.

(In Roma, nel MDCCVI, presso Antonio Fvlgoni, 4to, pp. xvi+200, vignettes.

At p. 92: Degli orologi mobili, degli anelli, delle tabacchieri, de' bottoni, de' pomi de' bastoni . . e . . . . . tascabile (p. 112).

Collocazione del Corpo di S. Francesca Romana in una Conca d'argento, p. 166. Il Cardinale Roano rubato della sua argenteria e il suo corpo dell' anello, p. 72, Campanilli d'oro, etc.)

CANCELLIERI (Francesco).

Inventario del tesoro della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano.

(In 'De Secretariis Basilicae Vaticanae.')

—— Lettera a S.E. Mons. della Somaglia su di una antica argenteria nuovamente scoperta a Roma.

(Roma, 1793.)

—— Storia de' Solenni possessi de' Sommi Pontefici.

(Roma, Tip. L. Lazzarini della R.C.A., 1802, 4to, pp. xxiv+540; plate.)

—— Descrizione della Sagrestia Vaticana eretta dal Pontefice Pio VI.

(Roma, Casaletti, 1784, 8vo, pp. viii+162, plate.)

—— Descrizione delle Cappelle Pontificie e Cardinalizie di tutto l'anno.

(Roma, Salvioni, 1790, 12mo.)

A MS. of this with many corrections and additions is to be seen in the Vatican Library MSS. 9157 and 9700.

MORONI (Ales.).

Nuovo catalogo delle opere edite ed inedite . . . dell' abate F. Cancellieri.

(Roma, Artigianelli, 1881, 8vo, pp. 153.)

CAPOGROSSI GUARNA (Baldass.).

Lo Stocco e Berettone al Grand Maestro di Malta Pinto di Fonseca.

(Roma, 1894.)

CARTARI (Carlo).

La Rosa d'Oro Pontificia . . . con gli opuscoli d'alcuni autori che di essa hanno scritto.

(Roma, Stamp. della R.C.A., 1681, 4to, pp. viii + 192 ; also 1687 (Haym). The Opuscoli begin on p. 165 with a sermon on the Rose by Innocent III, in Latin.)

CASTAN (A.).

Anneau d'investiture pour la souveraineté de la Corse donné en 1543 à St. Georges de Gênes : conservé au Musée de Besançon.

(Paris, 1888, 8vo, plate. Ex. fr. *Mém. de la Soc. Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, vol. xliii.)

CENNI (Gaet.).

Dissertazioni di Istoria Eccles. Pontificia e Canonica, vol. i, p. 144 : 'De Annulo Piscatorio.'

(Pistoia, 1778.)

CERASOLI (F.).

L'Armeria di Castel S. Angelo. Il tesoro pontificio di Castel S.A. (Appendice).

(In *Studi e Docum. Di Storia e Diritto*, Roma, 1893, Anno xiv. Also Rome, Tipo. Poliglotta di Propaganda Fide, 1893, large 4to, pp. 20.

—— Nota e ricevuta delle gioie che il Re Francesco I accettò per mano di Filippo Strozzi quale le mandava Clemente VII alla sua nipote Duchessa d'Orleans.

(Original is in the Barberini Library (now in the Vatican) MS. Cart., 4to, LX, 49, c. 267.) In *Archiv. della Società Romana di Storia Patria* XII, Rome, 1889, pp. 376–381.

CIAMPINI (Joannes).

De Cruce Stationali, / investigatio historica./

(Romae, MDCXCIV, J. F. Buagni, 4to, pp. 27 ; 5 folding plates.)

COHAUSEN (A. von).

Römischer Schmelzschmuck. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der antiken kunstgewerblichen Technik.

(In *Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Alterthumskunde und Geschichtsforschung*, Band XII. ; also Wiesbaden, W. Roth (A. Stein), 1873, fol. pp. 32 ; 2 col. plates.)

COZZA-LUZI (Gius.).

Di una *Capsella* Reliquaria nella Lipsanoteca Pontificia.

(Roma, 1899, pp. 8.)

COZZA-LUZI (Gius.).
L'Antico 'Ciborium' dell' ipogeo di Bolsena.
(Orvieto, Tosini, 1891, 8vo.)

—— Le Chiavi di S. Pietro: Memoria storica.
(Roma, Setth., 1883, 8vo, pp. 14.)

—— The same.
(Roma, Setth., 1887, 16mo., pp. 26).

—— Gemma Colonna e l'istrumento dotale pel suo matrimonio.
(Roma, Propaganda Fide, 1903, 8vo, pp. 64, port.)

CUGNONI (Gius.).
Appendice al commento della vita di Agostino Chigi.
(In *Archiv. della Società Romana di Storia Patria* VI. p. 139; 497 etc.)

—— Agostino Chigi il Magnifico.
(In *Archivio cit.*, 1878–83; and separately: Rome, 2 vols., 8vo. Illust.)

EGIDI (Pietro).
Regali fatti a Giacinta Orsini quando andò sposa di Antonio Boncompagni (1757).
(Rome, Per Nozze. Officina Poligrafica Romana, 1901, 8vo, pp. 15.)

ERCULEI (Raffaele).
S.P.Q.R. Museo Artistico-Industriale, Anno I.
(Roma, Salviucci, 1875, 4to, pp. 50.)

ESBERARD.
A Rosa de Ouro.
(Rio de Janeiro, 1888.)

FEDELE (Pietro).
I Gioielli di Vannozza e un opera de Caradosso.
(In *Archiv. della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, vol. xxviii, p. 451; also separately: Rome, Forzani, 1906, pp. 23, 8vo.)

FEDERICI (V.).
L'Antico Evangeliario dell' Archivio di S. Maria in Via Lata.
(In *Archiv. della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 1898, vol. xxi.)

FROTHINGHAM (Arthur L.).
Inventory of the artistic treasures of St. Peter's in Rome.
(In *American Journal of Archaeology*, Boston, IV, p. 326.)

GALLETTI (Pierluigi).
Vestiario della S. Romana Chiesa.
(Roma, 1758, 4to.)
At p. 71 there is an Inventory de tempore Benedicti X.

GIORDANI (Paolo).
Studii sulla scultura romana del rinascimento. (Gian Cristoforo Romano a Roma.)
(In *Arte.* Roma, 1907 ; p. 197, 10 illustrations. Illustrates a medal of Sannazzaro and two of Julius II.)

GIRBAL.
La Rosa de Oro, Noticias historicas acerca de esta dadiva pontificia.
(Madrid, 1820.)

GNOLI (D.).
La Casa dell' orefice Giampietro Crivelli in Roma.
(In *Archiv. Stor. dell' Arte,* IV, 1891, p. 236. Illust.)

—— Testamento ed altri atti relativi all' orefice Giampietro Crivelli.
(In *Archiv. Stor. dell' Arte,* IV, 1891, pp. 287–90.)

GOTTLIEB (Th.).
Inventarii del Tesoro della sacristia di S. Pietro in Vaticano.
(In *Ueber Mitt. Bibliot.*)

—— Inventario della sacristia di S. Giovanni in Laterano.
(In *Ueber Mitt. Bibliot.*)

GOYAU (G.) PERATÉ (André) and FABRÉ (Paul).
Le Vatican, Les Papes et la civilisation.
(Paris, 1895, pp. 796. Illust.)

GRAPIUS.
Schediasma historicum de Rosa Aurea. . .
(Leipzig, 1696.)

GRIMALDI (Giacomo).
Opusculum de sacrosancto / sudario, ac Lancea, qua Salvatoris / nostri Iesu Christi Latus / patuit / in Vaticana Basilica, maxima / veneratione asservatis / editum per Jacobum Grimaldum / eius Basilicae Benefactum / anno Domini MDCXXIII .
Dedicated in 1618 to Card. Peretti. Illust.
(In Bibliot. Vatican. MSS. No. 8404.)

GRISAR (H.).

Il 'Sancta Sanctorum' in Roma e il suo tesoro nuovamente aperto.
(In *Civiltà Cattolica*, Roma, 1906, Nos. 1343, p. 513; 1344, p. 708; 1346, p. 161; 1351, p. 51, p. 563, p. 673, 1907, vol. i, p. 48. Illust.)

—— degli 'Agnus Dei.'
(In *Civiltà Cattolica*. Rome, June, 1907; Anno 58, Archeologia, vol. ii, pp. 568–584. Illustrated.)

—— L'Immagine Acheropita del Salvatore.
(In *Civiltà Cattolica*. Rome, 1907, vol. i, p. 439.)

—— Il Sancta Sanctorum ed il suo Tesoro Sacro, scoperte e studii dell' autore nella Cappella Palatina Lateranense del medio evo.
(Roma, A. Befani, 1907, 8vo, pp. 8+198+1. 62 illustrations.
Has also been issued in German.)

—— Analecta Romana: dissertazioni, testi, monumenti dell' arte riguardanti la storia di Roma e dei Papi del Medio evo.
(Vol. i. Roma, Desclée, 1899, 8vo.)

GRISSELLE (Hartwell D.).

Bibliography of the Golden Rose.
(In *Notes and Queries*, Ser. VIII, vol. ii, 1892, p. 414.)

HARTSHORNE (A.).

The Signet Ring of Cesare Borgia.
(In *Connoisseur*. London, May, 1907; vol. xviii, p. 59: vide also same Magazine for February.)

H.H.S.

Golden Rose.
(In *Notes and Queries*, Ser. VII, vol. xi, p. 432.)

JORET.

La Rose d'Or dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge.
(Paris, 1892.)

JUBARU (Fl.).

Le Chef de Sainte Agnès au trésor du Sancta Sanctorum.
(In *Études, Revue fondée en* 1856 *par les pères de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Paris, 1905, t. 104, p. 721.)

LAUER (Philippe).

Le Trésor du Sancta Sanctorum au Latran.

(In *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscrip. et B.-Lettres.* Paris, June, 1906, p. 223.)

—— Le Trésor du Sancta Sanctorum au Latran.

(In *L'Art Ancien et Moderne.* XX, p. 5, Paris, July 10, 1906; also separately, 4to, pp. 20. Illust.)

—— Notice sur le Trésor du Sancta Sanctorum au Latran.

(In *Le Moyen Âge*, 2nd Ser. vol. x, July–Aug. 1906; also separately: Paris, Champion, s.d. (1906), 8vo, pp. 12.)

—— Le Trésor du Sancta Sanctorum.

(Forms vol. xv of *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Acad. de Inscrip. et B.-Lettres. Fondation F. Piot.* Paris, Leroux, 1906, 4to, pp. 140. 18 plates and 35 engravings in text.

LAURENTIO (Dionisio).

Sacrarum vaticanae basilicae cryptarum monumenta aereis tabulis incisa etc. Commentariis illustrata.

(Romae, 1773, Fol. Illust.)

LESSING (J.).

Die Schwerter d. Preuss. Krontresor.

(In *Jahrbuch der K. Preuss. Kunstsamml.* xvi, 1895.)

This work treats of the Stocco in detail and reproduces three in particular (i) that made by Simone di Giovanni, orefice fiorentino and given by Pius II to the Elector of Brandenburg in 1460, (ii) that granted by Innocent II in 1491 to the Landgrave of Hesse, now in the Museum at Cassel, (iii) that conferred by Alexander VI, to Bogislavo X, Duke of Pomerania in 1497. This last was the work of Angelino di Domenico di Sutri.[1]

LEVI (Guido).

Il Cardinale Ottaviano degli Ubaldini secondo il suo carteggio ed altri documenti.

(In *Archivio della Società di Stor. Patria* xiv (1891), p. 231; also separately: Rome, 1892, 8vo, pp. 74.)

[1] Two of these swords were illustrated by Muntz in L'Orfèvrerie Romaine de la Renaissance (*Gaz. des B. Arts*, vol. xxvii, pp. 413 and 417).

LINAS (Ch. de).

La Croix de Justin II.

(In *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* xxii, p. 216.)

LUCCATELLI (G. P.).

Notizie concernenti la testa di S. Martire che si custodisce nella Chiesa di SS. Quattro Coronati in Roma.

(Roma, 1757, 4to ; 2 plates.)

LUNADORO (Girolamo).

Relazione della corte di Roma. Accresciuta da Francesco Antonio Zaccaria.

(Roma, 1734, vol. i, p. 209, Della benedizione dello Stocco guarnito d'oro e del Capello e Berettone Ducale, che vi si mette sulla punta.

An earlier edition of this work under the title 'Relatione della Corte di Roma e de' riti da osseruarsi in essa, e dei suoi Magistrati & officij con la loro distinta Giurisdittione' (Venetia ; M. DC. LXXI, per Gio. Francesco Valuasense) does not contain anything about the Stocco.)

The work was compiled by order of Catherine of Lorraine, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, for the instruction of her son, Charles de Medici, created Cardinal by Paul V on Dec. 2, 1615, and was at first only in circulation in MS. A 'pirated' incomplete edition, under the title of il 'Maestro di Camera,' having appeared, the author thought it well to secure his rights by printing the whole work. An edition, printed at Bracciano by Andrea Fei in 1641 contains in the preface a statement that the original had been written 'about 18 years' before, and speaks of it as having been mentioned, probably as in preparation, by Monsignor Bonifazio Vannozzi in the second volume of his *Avvertimenti Politici* (Bologna, 1612). The preface has probably, therefore, been taken without correction from an edition printed about 1633: and it is to be noted that the title-page of the 1641 edition says 'in questa ultima Editione accresciuta dall' Autore.'

MAC SWINEY DE MASHANAGLASS (Marquis de).

Le Portugal et le Saint Siège : I. Les Épées d'honneur envoyées par les Papes aux rois de Portugal au XVI^e^ siècle.

(Paris, Picard (Printed at Macon by Protat frères), 1898. 8vo, pp. 76.

Memoir read before the Fourth International Scientific Congress of Catholics at Fribourg.)

MAC SWINEY DE MASHANAGLASS (Marquis de).

II. Les Langes bénits envoyés par les Papes aux Princes Royaux de Portugal.

(Paris, Picard, 1899.)

—— L'Épée et le chapeau ducal donnés par Grégoire XIII en 1575 à Charles Frédéric, Prince de Cléves et Juliers.

(Rome, Typo. Vaticane, 1900, 8vo, pp. 30. Illust.)

—— Le Portugal et le Saint Siège: Les Roses d'Or envoyées par les Papes aux roix de Portugal au XVI Siècle.

(Paris, Picard (printed at Macon by Protat Bros.), 1904, 8vo, pp. xii + 276.)

MARANGONI (Giov.).

Istoria / dell' antichissimo oratorio o cappella / di San Lorenzo / nel patriarchio Lateranese comunemente appellato / Sancta Sanctorum / e della celebre Imagine del SS. Salvatore / detta Acheropita, che ivi conservasi; / colle notizie / del culto, e varj riti praticati anticamente / verso la medesima /: come anche dell' origine ed uso di tale sorta d'imagine / venerata nella Cattolica chiesa / raccolta da Monumenti antichi, e specialmente dall' archivio / della Nobile Compagnia, che ne ha la Custodia.

(In Roma M.D.CC.XL.VII per Ottavio Puccinelli, 4to, pp. xxii + 354. 9 Plates in text and a large folding plate at end.)

—— Chronologia Romanorum Pontificum superstes in pariete australi basilicae Sancti Pauli apostoli Viae Ostiensis. Cum additione reliquorum SS. Pontif. nostra ad haec usque tempora producta, cum notis imaginibus et append.

(Romae, de Rubeis, 1751, Fol. Illust.)

MARCELLUS (Christoph.).

Sacrarum Caeremoniarum sive Rituum Ecclesiasticorum S. R. Eccles.

(Venezia, 1573, Aegid. Regazola, *Vide* 'De benedictione Rosae.')

MARROCU (Giamb.).

Il Culto delle Sante Reliquie: Discorso.

At p. 47 is 'Catalogo de' Reliquiarj che conservano corpi santi . . . nella nuova cappella . . . al Monastero delle Barberine' in Rome.

(Roma, Pallotta, 1855, pp. 60, 196 × 135 mm.)

MARSY (Comte de).
Un Anneau de Calixte III.
(In *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien* 1879, xxvii., p. 201. Illust.)

MARUCCHI (Orazio).
Le memorie dei SS. Apostoli Pietro e Paolo nella città di Roma.
(Roma, tip. Romana, 1894, 8vo, pp. 130. Illust.)

MAZZARONI (M. Anton.).
De Tribus Coronis Pont.
(Romae, 1588 and 1609.)

MECCHI (Fil. Eug.).
La tomba di S. Pietro e l'iscrizione della croce d'oro postavi da Costantino e da Elena.
(Roma, t. Elzeveriana, 1893, 8vo, pp. 20.)

MELY (De F.).
Les Reliques de Constantinople au XII Siècle : La Sainte Lance.
(In *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, vol. viii, p. 1. Illust.)
Also Lille, Desclée, 1897, 4to.

—— Les Reliques de Constantinople : La Sainte Couronne.
(In *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, xlii (1899), p. 35.)
Also Lille, Desclée, 1897, 4to.

—— La médaille du Christ d'Innocent VIII et l'émeraude de Bajazet II.
(In *Gaz. des B.-Arts*, 1898, 4to.)

—— Le Trésor de Chartres, 1310–1793.
(Paris, Picard, 1886, 8vo, pp. xlix+136, 15 plates. At p. 42 the Golden Rose given to Marie Leczinska of Poland is described.)

—— Les Deniers de Judas. Le Denier du Cens : Le Numisma Loetiense (Laetense).
(Paris, *Rev. de Numismatique*, 1897–1901, 8vo.)

—— Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae. La Croix des Premiers Croisés. La Sainte Lance. La Sainte Couronne.
(Paris, E. Leroux, M CM IV., 8vo, pp. iii+440. Illust.)

MENCACCI (Cesario).
Il culto alle catene di S. Pietro Apostolo nelle chiese greche : Memoria.
(Roma, Armanni, 1877, 8vo, pp. 48.)

MENCACCI (Paolo).

Alcune memorie sull' immagine acheropita del SS. Salvatore di Sancta Sanctorum.

(Roma, Monaldi, 1863, 16mo, pp. 38.)

—— Brevi notizie sulle catene di S. Pietro.

(2nda ediz. Roma, t. Forense, 1864, 32mo, pp. 36.)

—— Les Chaînes de S. Pierre.

(4a ediz. Roma, Armanni, 1877, 16mo, pp. 96.)

MILANESI (Gaet.).

I due sontuosissimi conviti fatti a Papa Clemente V. nel 1308, descritti da anonimo fiorentino.

(Firenze, Le Monnier, 1868, 8vo, pp. 19.)

—— Gaspero Mola Comasco, orefice, zecchiere et intagliatore di Medaglie.

In *Il Buonarroti*, Roma, 1870, Ser. II, vol. v, p. 169.)

MINOCCHERI (Luigi).

Cenni storici sulla Lipsanoteca del Vicariato in Roma e sua esposizione delle Sante Reliquie.

(In *La Palestra del Clero*, No. 9, May 1, 1894.)

Also Roma, Tipo. Sociale, 1894, fol. pp. 26.

MIRABEL (Cte de).

Le Crucifix de Fénelon, exécuté à Rome, vers 1625, par François Duquesnoy, dit le Flamand.

(Mesnil, Firmin Didot, 8vo, pp. 30; plate.)

MOLINIER (Émile).

Inventaire du trésor du Saint Siège sous Boniface VIII (1295).

(Ext. fr. *Bibliot. de l'École des Chartes*, 1882–88, Paris, 1888, 8vo, p. 140. See a review of this work by Barbier de Montault in the *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien* (1889), pp. 484–491; also in his *Œuvres Complètes*, vol. iii., pp. 448–460.)

—— Histoire Générale des Arts Appliqués à l'Industrie. L'Orfèvrerie Religieuse et Civile.

(Paris, Levy S. a. Imp. fol. pp. 297. Illust. The Golden Rose is illustrated at p. 245.)

MOMO (nom de plume = GIROLAMO AMATI).

Lettere romane, corrette ed annotate.

(Roma, Barbera, 1872, 8vo, pp. 103+1. Contains notes on Cellini, Raffaello, Antonio da S. Marino, Polidoro da Caravaggio, etc., and on Costumes in 1550.)

—— Spese private di Leone X.

(In *Il Buonarroti*, Rome, 1871, Ser. II, vol. vi. p. 245.

Contains notes of expenditure in 1519 for jewels made by Caradosso; Jo Bat. Laquila; Bernardino Fortini; Gaspare orefice (di Aprano) Michele Ciampolino; Gasparro dal Gallo; Gaio (otherwise Gian Pietro Marliano. There is mention of a French Jeweller who provides a 'Liocorno' for 1500 ducats.)

MONDELLI (Franc. Antonio).

Qual sia dello Stocco d'Oro l'origine?

(Bologna, 1792.)

MONSACRATI (M.).

De Catenis S. Petri.

Also: Memorie delle S. Catene di S. Pietro apostolo: disert. tradotto da Lorenzo Giampaoli.

(Prato, Lici, 1884, 8vo, pp. 236.)

Vide also Zaccaria on the Sacra Catena in Vol. III of *Storia Letteraria d'Italia*. (Venezia, 1752.)

MOUNIER (L.).

Des monastères, des confrèries, des établissements de charité et des corporations d'arts et métiers en Angleterre, en France et spécialement à Rome.

(Paris, 18.., 12mo.)

MORESCHI (Luigi).

Descrizione del Tabernacolo che orna la confessione della basilica di San Paolo sulla via Ostiense salvato dall' incendio dell' anno MDCCCXXIII e riposto sopra la confessione medesima per decreto della Santità di N. S. Gregorio XVI felicemente regnante.

(Roma, Pietro Aurelj. MDCCCXL, pp. 4+43+23; plate 495 × 350 mm.)

—— Prospetto, spaccato e dettagli della Confessione nella basilica di San Paolo.

(Roma, nella Calcografia della R. C. Apost. MDCCCXXXVIII. Title and ten sheets engraved by Filippo Trojani. Same size as above and bound with it.)

MUCANZIO (Francesco).
De SS. Petri et Pauli Imaginibus.
(Romae, 1573.)

MUCANZIO (Gio. Paolo).
Dell' uso et varietà delle vesti di Nro. / Sigre e de Cardinali per tutto l'anno, / e di molte cose degne a sapersi / quali spettano alle chiese, / Titoli e Diaconie dell' istessi Cardinali, / e Cappelle Ordinarie, che si fanno / fra l'anno in Roma. / Con alcune cose in questa seconda stampa / piu chiaramente esplicate. / Approvate da Clemente VIII, etc.
(Stampa della R.C.A., M.D.C.V., 16mo, 36 folios nn. In Bibliot. Vatic. Libri Ottoboniani.)

MUNTZ (E.) and FROTHINGHAM (A. L. Junr.).
Il tesoro della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano dal XIII al XV Secolo.
(In *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, vi. 1883, pp. 1–137.)
Also separately: Rome, Forzani, 1883, pp. 139.)

MUNTZ (E.).
La Tiare Pontificale du VIII^e^ au XVI^e^ Siècle.
(In *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. et Belles-Lettres*, xxxvi., Partie 1, p. 235.
Also separately: Paris, Klincksieck, 1897, pp. 93, 4to. Illust.)

—— Inventaire du trésor de S. Jean de Latran en 1455.
Rome, 1889.
(In part 3 of *Les Arts à la cour des Papes* (*Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 28), p. 80.)

—— L'Orfèvrerie Romaine de la Renaissance: Caradosso.
(In *Gaz. des B.-Arts*, Ser. 2, vol. 27, 1883, pp. 411, 491. Also separately; 9 plates, 1883, 8vo.)

—— L'oreficeria a Roma durante il regno di Clemente VII (1523–1534).
(In *Archiv. Stor. dell' Arte* 1888, fasc. i–iv, pp. 14–23; 35–42; 68–74; 132–134. Illust.)

MUNTZ (E.).

Sur les Roses d'Or.

(In *Mémoires de la Soc. Nationale des Antiq. de France*, xlviii, p. 278. Also *Bulletin*, 1889, pp. 274–276.)

—— Les Roses d'Or Pontificales.

(In *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, xliv (1901), pp. 1–11. Paris, 1901, 4to; plate.)

—— Les Épées d'honneur distribuées par les Papes pendant les XIV^e^, XV^e^ et XVI^e^ Siècles.

(In *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, xxxii (1889), pp. 408–411; and xxxiii (1890), p. 281. *Rev. de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, April, 1901, p. 251.)

Also: Paris, 1889–1890, 2 parts; 5 plates, 4to.

—— Les Arts à la Cour des Papes pendant le XV^e^ et le XVI^e^ Siècle.

(Paris, *Bibliothèque des Écoles d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 4, 9, 28, 1878, 1879 and 1882. Vol. i. p. 213 contains an Inventory of Calixtus III, dated August 8. Another Inventory is in vol. ii, pp. 128, et seq.)

—— Inventario del Papa Urbano V (1364).

(In *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1891, p. 127.)

—— Inventario di Leone X (1513–1521).

(In *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1888, i, p. 68.)

—— Le trésor de la fille de Stilicon.

(In *Revue Archéologique*, Ser. 2, tome iv, p. 45.)

—— Inventaire des Camées Antiques de la Collection du Pape Paul II (1457–1471).

(Ext. fr. *Rev. Archéologique*, Paris, Sept.–Oct. 1878. Also separately: Paris, 1878, 8vo, p. 23.)

—— L'Orfèvrerie et la Lingerie en Italie au XV^e^ Siècle.

(Paris, 1887, 8vo.)

Probably the above and the following are the same:

—— L'Orfèvrerie et la Lingerie parisiennes en Italie au XV^e^ Siècle.

(In *Bulletin de la Soc. de l'Histoire de Paris*, Nov.–Dec. 1887, p. 171.)

—— Lavori d'arte fatti eseguire a Roma dai Papi d'Avignone (1365–1378).

(In *Archiv. Stor. dell' Arte*, 1891, iv, p. 127.)

MUNTZ (E.).

Les Collections d' antiquités de Laurent le Magnifique.
Paris, Pillet et Dumoulin, 1879, 8vo, pp. 11.
(In *Rev. Archéol.*, Oct. 1879, xxxviii, p. 242 ; 1880, xl, p. 257.)

—— Les Collections antiques formées par les Médicis au 16e Siècle.
La Chronique des Arts. Paris, 1895, p. 72.
(In *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 35, 2e partie. Paris, 1896, pp. 85–168. Also separately.)

Les Collections de Cosmé I de Médicis (1574).
(In *Rev. Archéol.*, May–June, 1895, p. 336.)
Paris, 1895, 8vo, pp. 11.

—— Les Collections des Médicis au XVe Siècle. Le Musée, la bibliothèque, le Mobilier.
Paris (printed at Toulouse by Chauvin), Librairie de l'Art, 1888, 4to, pp. 112. 350 copies.

—— L' Héritage de Nicholas V.
(In *Gaz. des. B.-Arts*, xv, 1887, p. 417.)

—— Les Arts à la Cour des Papes, Nouvelles recherches sur les Pontificats de Martin V, d'Eugène IV, de Nicholas V, de Calixte III, de Pie II et de Paul II.
(Ext. fr. *Mélanges d'École Française de Rome*, vol. v, 1884, p. 274.)
Also separately : Rome, Cuggiani, 8vo, 1884, pp. 48.

—— Les Arts à la Cour des Papes, Nouvelles recherches.
(In *Mélanges cit.*, vol. vi (1885), p. 321.)

—— Les Arts à la Cour des Papes : Nouvelles recherches sur les Pontificats de Martin V, d'Eugène IV, de Calixte III, de Pie II et de Paul II.
(Ext. fr. *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, vol. ix (1889), p. 134.)
Also separately : Rome, Cuggiani, 1889, 8vo, pp. 88.

—— Les Monuments Antiques de Rome. I.
Paris, 1885, 8vo.

—— L'Atelier Monétaire de Rome. Documents inédits sur les graveurs de Monnaies et de Sceaux et sur les Médailleurs de la Cour Pontificale depuis Innocent VIII jusqu' à Paul III.

(Ext. fr. *Rev. Numismatique*, 3rd. ser., t. ii, 2nd trim., 1884, pp. 220, 313 ; plate.)

Also apart: Paris, Rougier & Cie, 1884, 8vo, pp. 52 ; 1 plate.

MUNTZ (E.).

Les Arts à la Cour des Papes Innocent VIII, Alexandre VI, Pie III (1484–1503), Recueil de documents inédits ou peu connus.

(In *Monuments et Mémoires de L'Acad. des Inscript. et B.-Lettres, Fondation E. Piot*, Paris, Leroux, 1898, 4to, pp. 203 ; 10 plates and 94 illustrations in text.)

P. P. P.

Consecrated Roses.

(In *Notes and Queries*, London, 1853, Ser. I, vol. viii, p. 38.)

PACIAUDI (Gius. Maria).

Lettera intorno agli anelli Pontificj.

(In Vol. XII of the *Memorie della Storia d'Italia*, p. 22.)

PALMIERI (Norberto).

Notizie istoriche delle sacre catene del principe (S. Pietro) degli Apostoli.

(Orvieto, presso Sperandio Pompei, 1846, 8vo, pp. 32.)

PASSERI (Giambattista).

Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti che anno lavorato in Roma morti dal 1641 fino al 1673.

(Roma, 1772, 4to.)

PAZZAGLIA (Gius.).

Compendio delle cose più cospicue concernenti la Scala S. e le SS. Teste delli Apostoli gloriosi Pietro e Paolo, tratto delle opere latine di Gius. Maria Soresini, con un sommario di reliquie che si conservano etc.

(Roma, 1674, 12mo.)

PFLUGK-HARTUNG (J. von).

Über Münze und Siegel der ältesten Päpste.

(In *Quellen und Forsch. aus Ital. Arch. u. Bibl. herausgeb. v. Preuss. Hist. Institut im Rom*, vol. v, p. I.)

(Rome, Loescher, 1902, 8vo, pp. 8.)

PIERRET (Luigi).
Breve cenno storico su Bernardino Passeri, Orefice Romano (1485–1527).
(Roma, Tipo. Fratelli Centenari, 1885, pp. 11, 350 copies, 158 × 102 mm.)

POGGI (Vitt.).
Sigilli Antichi Romani, raccolti e pubblicati.
(Torino, Loescher, 1876, 4to, pp. 66. Illust.)

RECHEMBERG (Adam).
Exercitatio de Rosa Aurea.
(Leipzig, 1686.)

REYNAUDI (Teofilo).
De Rosa Mediana a Pontifice Consacrata: Trattato.
(In *Opera Omnia*, Tom. 10, Lugduni, 1665–1669.)
The Stocco is treated of at p. 531 of Tom. 10.

—— De Corona aurea super mitra Rom. Pontificis, et de clavibus, Symbolo Scientiae Potentiae Iurisdictionis.
(In Tom. 10 of *Opera Omnia*).

ROCCA (Angelo).
Aurea Rosa, Ensis et Pileus, quae Regibus ac Magistratibus a Summo Pontifice benedicta in donum mittuntur, quid sibi velint?
(In his *Opera Omnia*, Tom. 10. Romae, 1719, 2 vols., fol. Illust.)

—— De Tiarae Pontificiae, quam Regnum mundi vulgo appellant, origine significatu et usu.
(In Tom. 1 of his Thesaurus Pontificiarum Sacrarumque Antiquitatum necnon Rituum. Romae, 1745.)

—— De particolare ex pretioso et vivifico ligno sanctissime crucis.
(Romae, 1609.)

RODOCANACHI (E.).
La Femme Italienne à l'époque de la Renaissance. Paris, Hachette, 1907, 4to, pp. vi+439. Profusely illustrated.

ROHAULT DE FLEURY (G.).
Le Latran au Moyen Âge.
(Paris, 1877, 8vo, pp. xiv+553.)

ROSSI (G. B. de).
La Capsella Argentea Africana offerta a Leone XIII dal Cardinale Lavigerie.
(Roma, Cuggiani, 1891, fol. Illust., pp. 33.)

—— Roma Sotterranea Cristiana descritta ed illustrata.
(Roma, Tipo. Pontificia, 1864–77, 3 vols., fol. Illust.)

ROSSIGNOL (J. P.).
Discussion sur l'authenticité d'une clochette d'or lettrée, découverte à Rome et prise pour une amulette.
(Paris, 1883.)
Also in *Archiv. Stor. Lombardo.*

—— Les métaux dans l'antiquité, origines relig. de la métallurgie, etc.
(Paris, 1863.)

SACKEN (Baron von).
Über einige römische Metall- und Emailarbeiten.
(Wien, 1863, fol., Ext. fr. Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses.)

SAGMULLER (F. B.).
Der Schatz Johanns XXII.
(*Historisches Jahrbuch*, xviii, 1897.)

SANT' AMBROGIO (Diego).
Sui recenti rinvenimenti del 'Sancta Sanctorum' di S. Giovanni in Laterano.
(In *Arte e Storia*, Firenze, August, 1906, Nos. 15–16; p. 117.)

SAINT LAURENT (G. de).
Étude sur une croix Pectorale du Musée du Vatican.
(In *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, x (1866), p. 5. Illust.)
Also: Paris, 1866, 8vo.

SCROPE (Sydney).
Golden Rose.
(In *Notes and Queries*, Ser. VII, vol. xi, p. 166.)

SHIELD (A.).
The Golden Rose.
(Ext. London, 1900, pp. 11.)

SINDONE (Raphael).

Altarium et reliquiarium sacrosanctae Basilicae Vaticanae Deo Optimo Maximo in honorem B. Petri.

(Roma, 1744, illust.)

SORESINO (Gius. Maria).

De Capitibus Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli in sacrosancta Lateranensi ecclesia.

(Romae, excudebat Mascardus MDCLXXIII, frontispiece and folding plate, p. 22, nn. 141–143, sm. 8vo.)

—— A MS. entitled :

Dissertazione del Soresino / sopra le teste dei Santi Apo/stoli Pietro e Paolo / conservate nella Basilica / Lateranense / is to be found in MS. 9313, Misc. of the Bibliot. Vaticana.

In Seroux d'Agincourt, *Storia dell' Arte dimostrata coi monumenti*, (Prato, Giacchetti, 1827–1830, vol. iii, p. 251 ; vol. v, p. 390), these Reliquaries are treated of. A reconstructed plate of them is given (Plate XXXVII) in the 2nd vol. of plates.

THOMS (W. J.).

The Golden Rose.

(In the *Shilling Magazine* for May, 1865, London, 8vo.)

—— Consecrated Roses.

(In *Notes and Queries*, London, 1853, Ser. I, vol. vii, p. 480.)

THURSTON (HERBERT).

Two Lost Masterpieces of the Goldsmith's Art : the Clasp made by Cellini for Clement VII and the Tiara by Caradosso for Julius II.

(In the *Burlington Magazine*, Oct. 1905, 4 illust., pp. 37–43 ; *Vide* Bartoli.)

—— A Famous Papal Crown. By Caradosso.

(In *The Dolphin*, Philadelphia, vol. iv, September 1, 1903, pp. 306–324 ; 1 full-page coloured illustration of Caradosso's Tiara for Julius II and 10 illustrations in text ; *Vide* Bartoli.)

—— A Famous Papal Crown.

(In *American Ecclesiastical Review*, 1903, xxix, p. 288.)

—— The Triple Crown.

(In *American Ecclesiastical Review*, 1903, xxix, p. 296.)

TROLLOPE (T. A.).
Golden Rose.
(In *Notes and Queries*, Ser. VII, vol. vi, p. 114, and vol. xi, p. 431.)

VALENTINI (Agostino).
The Lateran crosses are illustrated in his *La Basilica Lateranense*, vol. ii, Plates LVI and LVII.
(Rome per Agostino Valentini, 1839.)

VISCONTI (Ennio Quirino).
Lettera . . . su di un' antica argenteria nuovamente scoperta in Roma.
(Roma, Salomoni, 1793, pp. 22, 220 × 160 mm.)

—— Lettera intorno ad una suppellettile d'argento scoperta in Roma.
(Roma, 1825, 4to. Illust.)

WAAL (A. de).
Gli antichi tesori SS. della Basilica Vaticana.
(Roma, 1894, 4to; 3 plates).

WELTZ (M.).
Il tesoro del Sancta Sanctorum.
(In *Rassegna Gregoriana*, Roma, 1906, V, p. 259.)

WHITE (C. A.).
The Pope's Golden Rose.
(In *Notes and Queries*, Ser. VIII, vol. iii, p. 343; vol. iv, p. 115, 1894.)

WILPERT (Gius.).
L'Acheropita ossia L'Immagine del Salvatore nella Cappella del Sancta Sanctorum.
(In *Arte*, Rome, 1907. x, p. 161, 247, etc. Illust.)

YOUNG (Sir Charles, Garter King-at-Arms).
Ornaments and gifts consecrated by the Roman Pontiffs: the Golden Rose, the Cap and Swords presented to Sovereigns of England and Scotland.
(Privately printed, 1860, large 8vo, pp. 35.)

YRIARTE (Ch.).
L'Épée de César Borgia.
(Paris, *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, September 15, 1885.)
Also treated of by Muntz in 'Les Arts pendant la Renaissance.'

YRIARTE (Ch.).
Autour des Borgia.
(Paris, 1891, 4to.)

—— César Borgia.
(Paris, 1889, 2 vols., 8vo.)

—— Vide also *Gaz. Archéologique*, 1888, pp. 67–78, 130–142.)

ZALUSKI (Andrea).
Analecta Historica de sacra in die Natali Domini in Rom. Pontific. usitata caeremonia Ensem, et Pileum benedicendi, eaque munere.
(Varsaviae, 1726, 4to.)

Legge Suntuaria da P. Sesto IV del 1473.
(Published by Muntz: 'Les Arts à la Cour des Papes,' iii, pp. 280.[1])

Pragmatica Romano, ossia progetto presentato della Congregazione deputata della Santità di N.S. nell' anno 1694 sopra la moderazione dell lusso e spese eccessive dell' alma città di Roma.
(In MSS. of Bibliot. Vaticana, No. 8875.)

Discorso sull' accrescimento del lusso in Roma come danoso al ben pubblico.

Prammatica per la città di Roma proposta ma non messa in pratica.
(Both in MSS. of Bibliot. Vatican. No. 8632, Misc. pp. 99–103.)

Candélabre composé par Michelangelo Buonaroti d'après le Concours ouvert entre Raphael d'Urbin et lui par les Papes Jules II et Léon X, l'an 1518.

Dédié au Citoyen J. A. Chaptal, Ministre de l'Intérieur, etc., le 23 Nivose an XI de la République, Par Joubert, éditeur et propriétaire. Dessiné à Rome par Prieur en 1778. Le trait gravé à l'eau forte par Charles Normand. Terminé au pointillé par J. B. Lucien. Écrit par Dien. Imprimé par Germain.
(In 2 sheets, with an Historical Notice, 600 × 425 mm.)

[1] The Sumptuary Law of Nicolas V dated 1451 will be found in *Anecdota Literaria*, vol. ii, p. 420 (Roma, 1773–83, 4 vols. 4to). Paul II also issued a Sumptuary Law.

Candélabre composé par Raphael Sanzio d'Urbin; d'après le Concours ouvert entre Michelange et lui par les Papes Jules II et Léon X environ l'an 1518.

(Dédié au Citoyen J. A. Chaptal, le 23 Nivose an XI de la République par Joubert éditeur. Dessiné à Rome par Prieur en 1778. Le trait à l'eau forte par Ch. Normand. Terminé au pointillé par J. B. Lucien. Écrit par Dien. Imprimé par Germain. With an Historical Notice. In 2 sheets, 600 × 425 mm.)

Of the Candelabra by Raffaelo there is another engraving signed: 'Pietro Narducci Incise.' It should be noted that it and the preceding do not agree as to the exact positions of the details. This copy is in two plates, the upper portion is 450 × 265 mm. unsigned; lower half on which the title and signature alone occur is 390 × 265 mm.

Candeliere di Bronzo nella Cappella Strozzi della Chiesa di S. Andrea della Valle a Roma.

Torcieri di Bronzo nel Tesoro della Basilica Vaticana.

(On Plate 60 in *Arte Italiana Decor. e Indust.*, No. 10, vol. xiv, 1905.)

Catalogo di diversi lavori ed opere in varj generi del negozio Valadier in Roma . . . divisi in premi da estrarsi per lotterie.

(Roma, Lazzarini, 1792, 12mo, pp. 188–1.)

Chirografo della Santa Memoria di Clemente XIII, sopra l'Offerta d'un Calice e di quattro Torce di Cera. Dated 1768.

(Roma, Stamp. R.C.A., MDCCLXXI, 4to, pp. 6 nn.)

Chirografo della Santità di Nostro Signore, Clemente PP. XIV, sopra l'offerta del Calice da farsi ogni anno in reintegrazione alla Basilica de' SS. XII Apostoli.

(In Roma, MDCCLXXI, Nella Stamperia della R.C.A. 4to, pp. 4.)

Chirografo della Santità di N. S. Clemente PP. XIV. Per la concessione del Calice fatta alle chiese del Gesu' e Maria de' PP. Scalzi di S. Agostino, e di S. Pantaleo de' PP. Scolopii, con altri provedimenti sopra simili Oblazioni, che si fanno dal Magistrato Romano.

(In Roma, MDCCLXXI, Nella Stamp. della R.C.A., 4to, pp. 5.)

Drawings of goldsmith's work (rings, pectoral crosses, etc.) by an Italian artist.

(In British Museum: addit. MSS. 5239.)

Esposizione del 1886 in Roma. Oggetti Artistici di Metallo: Relazione. (Roma, Civelli, 1886, pp. lvii + 284, 8vo.)

The Golden Rose.
(Conferred on Princess Ena of Battenberg. *Daily Mail*, London, May 1, 1906, Illust.)

—— (*Lady's Pictorial*, London, May 5, 1906. Referring to a Golden Rose conferred on Queen Christina of Spain in 1886.)

—— (*Sunday Times*, London, April 29, 1906.)

—— (*Morning Post*, London, April 28, 1906.)

—— (Vide *London Opinion*, New Series, vol. xi, No. 138, p. 201. Illustration of the Golden Rose made by Simone di Giovanni of Florence for Pius II and sent by him to Siena in 1549.[1])

—— (*Modern Society*, London, May 12, 1906.)

—— (*Glasgow Herald*, May 2, 1906.)

—— (In Dublin *Weekly Telegraph*, April 9, 1853.)

—— (See *Hazell's Annual*, 1891.)

—— (Vide *The Tablet*, October 6, 1888, p. 523; Ducange *Glossaire* (Édition Favre t. vii, p. 214); *Tableau de la Cour de Rome* (Hague 1726, p. 346); *Le Magasin Pittoresque*, 1841, p. 326; *Catal. of Musée Cluny*, Paris, N. 5005.

Smeraldo donato a Clemente VII come rimedio contro la peste.
(In *Archiv. Stor. Romano*, vol. xxi, p. 242.)

Inventario dei beni Ereditarj della chiar. Mem. dell' Em. Sig. Cardinale Massimi (Camillo) fatto a ij Ottobre, 1677.
(In Bibliot. Vaticana, *Codici Capponiani*, No. 260, 115 fol.)

Inventario delle robe esistenti nella Sagrestia della Chiesa di S. Appollinare, fatto nel 1585 (six folios).
(In Bibliot. Vaticana *MSS. Ottoboniani*, 2473, Misc. fol. 130b.)

Inventario delle suppellettili d'oro e d'argento della chiesa Romana fatto sotto i pontefici Bonifacio VIII e Benedetto II.
(In Bibliot. Vatican. *MSS. Ottobon.* 2516, Misc. fol. 126 (six folios.))

[1] The Rose sent by Pius II to Siena in 1458 is still preserved at Siena. There is no rose in the British Museum as stated in these notes.

Istoria dell' antica e prodigiosa imagine della Madonna del Perpetuo Soccorso venerata in Roma nella chiesa di S. Alfonso.
(Roma, Tipo. Poliglotta, 1877, 8vo, pp. viii + 232.)

Raccolta di vari Banchetti fatti in circostanze e città diverse minutamente descritti.
(In Bibliot. Vaticana *Codici Regina*, 804, 53 folios.)

Reggio Decreto che autorizza il Consorzio degli Orafi ed Argentieri capi d'arte di Roma ad acquistare una casa del Marchese Patrizi.
(Roma, Stamp. Reale, May 16, 1880, pp. 2, 217 × 151 mm.)

Le Scuole del Museo Artistico Industriale di Roma.
(In *Arte Ital. Decor. e Indust.* vi. 1897, 12, p. 93. Illust.)

Delle Santis$\overline{\text{me}}$ Teste / delli gloriosi Apo/stoli Pietro e Pa/olo.
(In Bibliot. Vaticana, MSS. 8744, fol. 39–45.)

Memoriale sopra le vertenze della ripulitura delle SS. Teste de' SS. Apostoli Pietro e Paolo alla S. C. particolare deputata da N.S. degli E$\bar{\text{m}}$i e R$\bar{\text{m}}$i Sig. Card. Pico, Colonna e Giudice, per il Capitolo e Canonici della ch. Patriarcale di S. Giovanni Laterano.
(Typis Mainardi, Romae, 1735, 4to.)

Memoria sopra la Rosa d'Oro e sua istituzione e benedizione.
(In Bibliot. Vaticana, MS. 8326.)

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

VOL. IV. NO. 3

STUDIES IN ROMAN HISTORICAL RELIEFS

BY

A. J. B. WACE, M.A.

Formerly Librarian of the British School at Rome; Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge

LONDON: 1907

STUDIES IN ROMAN HISTORICAL RELIEFS.

	PAGE
1.—Reliefs from Trajan's Forum	229
2.—The Reliefs of the Arco di Portogallo	258
3.—A Relief in the Palazzo Sacchetti	263
4.—The Frieze of the Arch of Constantine	270

THE four papers here printed are part of the fruits of a study of the development of Roman reliefs undertaken during the last three years in Rome. The object of this study has been to attempt to determine the Roman or Alexandrian origin of the 'Hellenistic' reliefs that have been the subject of so much controversy. The result of this main investigation will be published elsewhere at a later time. In the meantime it is hoped that these papers will help in some degree towards the explanation of some important Roman monuments, and towards a clearer knowledge of the development of Roman imperial art. To Professor Hülsen and Dr. Ashby I owe much for the help they have so kindly given me; but I am most deeply indebted to Mr. Stuart Jones, without whose aid these studies would never have been written. M. Héron de Villefosse and M. Michon I have to thank most warmly for the assistance and information they most courteously afforded me when studying the reliefs in the Louvre. My thanks are also due to Signor Ferretti for the skill with which he has carried out the difficult task of making the reconstructed drawings (**Plates XXIX–XXXII**).

Reliefs from Trajan's Forum.

I.—*Their History.*

Towards the end of the sixteenth century there lay in the *cortile* of the Palazzo dei Conservatori several Roman historical reliefs of considerable importance. Whether they did, or did not, form part of the collection of sculpture belonging to the muncipality, is not known. At all events, as Michaelis has shown in his *Storia della Collezione Capitolina*

di Antichità,[1] they were removed between 1576 and 1650 from the Capitol to the Villa Borghese,[2] where they formed part of the decoration of the eastern façade. Thence they passed to the Louvre, when Napoleon I. bought the Borghese collection. It has up till now been unknown where these reliefs were found, how they came to the Capitoline collection, and why, or when they passed to the Villa Borghese. They consisted of a large composition representing an *extispicium* before the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, broken into two pieces, the *extispicium* itself, and a group of men before the temple, the pediment of which has been lost. There was also a smaller relief in several fragments showing a sacrifice of two bulls. Both these though badly damaged are still in existence.[3] To them we may add another representing a Victory flying to the right and holding a long staff (perhaps a *vexillum*) in her right hand. By her feet appear the ends of two *fasces*. Several sixteenth century drawings of all these exist. A reference table of them will be convenient.

	COBURGENSIS[4] 1550–1554.	COD. VAT. 3439,[5] 1570–1576.	PIERRE JACQUES,[6] 1572–1577.	BEROLINENSIS,[7] 1572–83.
I.—Temple of Jupiter. (*a*) Pediment (lost). (*b*) Group in front, Louvre, 1089.	*f.* 156.[8]	*f.* 83.[9] **Pl. XX.**	*f.* 48.	*f.* 25.
(*c*) *Extispicium*, Louvre, 978.		*f.* 94. **Pl. XXIV.**	*f.* 18.	
II.—Sacrifice, Louvre, 1098.		*ff.* 85, 88. **Pl. XXI., XXIII.**	*f.* 17 bis (half only).	
III.—Victory (lost).		*f.* 88. **Pl. XXIII.**	*f.* 13 bis.	

[1] *Röm. Mitt.* 1891, p. 22.

[2] *v.* Manilli, *Villa Borghese* (1650), p. 46 ; cf. Montelatici, *Villa Borghese* (1700), p. 172.

[3] Louvre (Héron de Villefosse, *Cat. Sommaire*), Nos. 978, 1089, 1098.

[4] Matz, *Berl. Sitzungsberichte*, 1871, p. 445.

[5] Professor Hülsen tells me that these and several other leaves of this codex are by Panvinius having been intended originally for his lives of the popes. For instance *f.* 88 is marked *Cal(ixtus)* II, and *Anacl(etus)* II, the leaf in its present state consisting of two gummed together ; *f.* 83 is marked *Cl(emens)* II, and *f.* 85 *Ben(edictus)* II and *Inn(ocentius)* V (?). The other leaves are not so marked but are of the same quality of paper ; this applies also to the leaves on which are the drawings of the arch of Titus : v. *Röm. Mitt.* 1891, p. 79.

[6] S. Reinach, *L'album de Pierre Jacques.*

[7] Michaelis, *Röm. Mitt.* 1891, Pl. III, pp. 21 *seqq.*

[8] Reproduced by Schulze, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1872, Pl. 1.

[9] Reproduced by Hülsen, *Röm. Mitt.* 1889, p. 251 ; the pediment was engraved by Piranesi, *Della Magnificenza ed Architettura de' Romani*, Pl. 198.

It is from the brief underlines added by Pierre Jacques and the Berolinensis that we know that these reliefs were in the Capitoline collection. Their provenance has however always been unknown, and their passing to the Borghese collection is mysterious. The object of the present paper is to show where they were found, to attempt to throw some light on the second problem, and finally to try to determine to what period and monuments they belonged.

Amongst the sketches of Antonio da Sangallo the younger, preserved in the Uffizi at Florence, there is one which gives a small sketch-plan with a long description written below, which runs as follows:[1]—

Di questo edifitio se cauato in casa
mess gieronimo cuccino e retroua
to molti frammenti in ruina
dove e quello emiciclo a piè delle
militie e se trouato questi capitelli
cioe A. B. C. D. e la colo
na E e molti altri frammenti
di pilastri gialli piani.
Una storia de uno sacrifitio
grande le fiure quanto naturale.
Due tonde per mettere una testa
come quelli di di rauenna dell archo
della porta aurea.
In ditta storia ne tinpano del tempio
di (facia)[2] *cie ioue in mezo di due*
donne a sedere a piedi sua sia
laquila e nel basso dello
tinpano da ogni banda sia una
biga.
In sùl mezo del fronte spitio in su uno
dado sia una quadriga
In sulli angoli una biga che corre in su
In fra lla biga e quadriga due statue ritte
In sullo cantone laterale. . .
architraue una aquila al [ta. . ,
quanto larchitraue colla a[quila. . .[3]

[1] No. 1178; quoted incompletely by Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, ii. p. 124; the full version here given I owe to Professor Hülsen.

[2] Lanciani reads *fatti*; Professor Hülsen is not certain what the word is, but from his copy it seems to me to read *facia*.

[3] The paper is torn at the corner.

The *emiciclo a piè delle militie* is of course the hemicycle on the east of Trajan's forum, which is still in a fairly good state of preservation. The date of the excavation mentioned by Sangallo is obtained from another of his sketches representing a cornice block described thus:[1]—*cornice cauata nel* 1540 *in lorto dello emiciclo delle militie del quale ui e larchitraue in casa col fregio de grifoni.* There are also in the famous Codex Barberini (*Barb. Lat.* 4424) a plan of the same hemicycle drawn by Giuliano da Sangallo and a sketch of some details by his son Francesco.[2]

It will at once be seen that the pediment of the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* as represented in the drawings (**Plate XX**) is exactly described by Sangallo in the first of the two passages quoted above. We may therefore say with certainty that the whole relief—it is drawn as a whole by the Berolinensis—of which this pediment once formed part, was found in 1540[3] in Trajan's forum close to the eastern hemicycle. One of the problems before us is thus definitely solved. The style and date of this relief will be discussed later. We must consider the other reliefs that were with it in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and see if we can give any reason for their having gone to the Borghese collection.

In this connection we may take a much quoted passage of the *Memorie* of Flaminio Vacca, who wrote in 1594. He says:[4]—*Mi ricordo intorno alla colonna Trajana dalla banda dove si dice Spolia Christi, essersi cavate le vestigie di un Arco trionfale con molti pezzi d'istorie, quali sono in casa del Sig. Prospero Boccapaduli, a quel tempo Maestro di Strade. Vi era anco Trajano a cavallo, che passava un fiume, e si trovarono alcuni prigioni simili a quelli che sono sopra l'Arco che si dice di Costantino, della medesima maniera.*

The name *Spolia Christi* or *Spoglia Cristo* was applied to part of the area of Trajan's forum close by the now destroyed church of Santa

[1] Uffizi, No. 1211; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 1880, v. p. 493. Lanciani (*op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*) takes the first passage in connection with three inscriptions copied by Smetius (p. 67, 2 = *C.I.L.* vi. 1. 1497) and Boissard (*MS.* pp. 410, 412 = *C.I.L.* vi. 1. 996, 1497, 1549), and dates the excavation to 1555 according to the date given by Smetius for the finding of one of the inscriptions. Antonio da Sangallo the younger died in 1546, so the incorrectness of Lanciani's statements is obvious.

[2] *v.* Fabriczy, *Handzeichungen Giuliano's da Sangallo*, pp. 26 (*f.* 6^{v}), 51 (f. 38^{v}).

[3] Therefore Michaelis' conjecture (*Röm. Mitt.* 1891, p. 20) that Marliani saw this relief amongst those *parietibus inclusa* in the Palazzo dei Conservatori before 1540, falls to the ground.

[4] *Memorie*, 9.

Maria in Campo Carleo.[1] It was a rich mine for marble and other building material during the sixteenth century, and there are many references to it.[2] When Santa Maria was destroyed in 1863, many marbles were found, including a piece of a relief which cannot now be identified unless it is a battered fragment now walled in near the south-eastern angle of the excavated part of Trajan's forum.[3] The church stood just at the point where the Via Alessandrina enters the Piazza del Foro Traiano. Lanciani suggests that the triumphal arch mentioned by Vacca is that referred to in the minutes of the *Conservatori* for March 23, 1526,[4] in which mention is made of a discussion *super lapidibus peperignis amotis ab Arcu Trajani.* He further connects with these a fragment of an inscription copied by Salvestro Peruzzi *dell arco Traiaō ī foro.*[5] This Henzen and Hülsen have shown to be part of the dedicatory inscription of the Temple of Trajan and Plotina,[6] which stood on the other side of the column to Spolia Christi. Most probably therefore the 'Arch of Trajan' built of *peperino*—a strange material for a triumphal arch!—was part of the enclosing wall of the *Forum Transitorium* which was completed by Trajan. This view receives confirmation from a passage of Poggio,[7] who, writing in the fifteenth century, mentions in his list of triumphal arches that *pars Nervae Traiani quaedam praecipui operis residet iuxta Comitium, in qua sculptae literae Traiani arcum fuisse dicunt.* It is necessary to observe in any case that Vacca had the idea of an *Arco Trionfale* suggested to him by the *pezzi d'istorie,*[8] the usual phrase for historical reliefs. The relief showing *Trajano a cavallo* has been rightly identified by Matz and von Duhn[9] with a relief walled up in the garden front of the Villa Medici, which represents a Dacian on horseback swimming the Danube with the bridge built by Apollodorus in the background. It was engraved by Vaccaria in his first

[1] For the position of the church and an explanation of the name *Spoglia Cristo*, see Adinolfi, *Roma nell' età di mezzo*, ii. p. 55.

[2] Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, ii. pp. 123, 125, 126, 161.

[3] Pellegrini, *Bull. Inst.* 1863, p. 78; Visconti, *Archivio del Min. d. Belle Arti*, 1863, v. 1. 5

[4] *Op. cit.* i. p. 224.

[5] Drawings in the Uffizi, No. 2076; cf. Lanciani, *op. cit.* i. p. 224.

[6] *C.I.L.* VI. i. 996, VI. iv. 2. 31215.

[7] Urlichs, *Codex Topographicus*, p. 239.

[8] Lanciani (*op. cit.* ii. p. 124) in commenting on this passage of Poggio says, without giving any reason for his statement, that in the Codex Vaticanus 3439 there are several drawings of the reliefs found on this occasion. In particular according to him *f.* 84^{v} represents the capture of Decebalus on a fragment from Vacca's triumphal arch. It is really a drawing of the inside face of one of the piers of the *Arcus Argentariorum.*

[9] *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, iii. No. 3518, v. below p. 243, Fig. 1.

edition of 1584 as *Horatii imago in aedibus cuiusdam nobilis Romani*.[1] It was also drawn by Pierre Jacques, who inscribed below it *apresso li Giudei*. This brief note is of great importance. It means that the relief in 1576, when Pierre Jacques drew it, was in a house near or in the Ghetto. Now it is known that the very Prospero Boccapaduli mentioned by Vacca as being in possession of the historical reliefs found on this occasion, lived till 1555 in the Ghetto in the Piazza del Mercatello. He moved, owing to the Jews being confined to that quarter, in the year mentioned to the Palazzo Boccamazzi in the Piazza Mattei also quite close to the Ghetto.[3] Prospero Boccapaduli was as stated by Vacca *maestro di strade*, but not till 1570.[4] He was however superintendent of the building of the Palazzo dei Conservatori from 1555 onwards, and also was in charge of the arrangement of the Capitoline collection in that Palazzo.[5] Therefore the Louvre reliefs, which, as shown above, came from Trajan's forum, must have been in the charge of Prospero Boccapaduli, when Pierre Jacques saw them in the Capitoline collection in 1576. Most probably the notices of Vacca and Sangallo refer to the same excavation. Vacca is not precise as to the actual locality, nor in any case is Spolia Christi far from the hemicycle. So it is reasonable to conjecture that Boccapaduli either by purchase—the Cuccini sold[6] some of the marble found in 1540—or by seizure had possession of the four reliefs we have had occasion to mention. These are the Temple of Jupiter with the extispicium, the sacrifice of two bulls, the lost Victory, and the 'Horatius.' Other fragments of historical reliefs,[7]

[1] *Antiq. Statuarum Urbis Romae icones*, No. 58.

[2] *f.* 56, *v.* Reinach, *op. cit.*

[3] Bicci, *Notizia della famiglia Boccapaduli*, pp. 19, 20, 21.

[4] Bicci, *op. cit.* p. 134. [5] Bicci, *op. cit.* pp. 115, 129.

[6] Lanciani, *op. cit.* ii. p. 124.

[7] It is possible that the well known relief believed to show the pediment of the temple of Venus and Rome, now in the Museo del Terme, was also in Boccapaduli's possession. The relief was drawn by Pighius (1547–1555, *v.* Jahn, *Sächs. Berichte*, 1868, p. 161), and by the Coburgensis (1550–1554, *v.* Matz, *Berl. Sitzungsberichte*, 1871, p. 445), but was lost again till 1819, when it was found in a house near Sant' Angelo in Pescaria, also in the Ghetto and by the original home of Boccapaduli. Ashby believes the relief was the model for one of the drawings attributed to Coner (*Papers B.S.R.* ii. Pl. 64 *b*), which would imply that the relief was found about 1520. The Lateran fragment, which Petersen has proved to be the bottom part of the relief (*Röm. Mitt.* 1895, p. 244, Pl. V.), was according to Nibby (*Roma nel* 1838, *parte antica*, ii. p. 218) found on the site of Santa Eufemia, a church that stood close to Santa Maria in Campo Carleo. This fragment is, as Benndorf and Schoene rightly remarked (*Die ant. Bild. d. Lateranischen Museums*, No. 20), Trajanic in style. But the temple of Venus and Rome, which it and its fellow are supposed to represent, was built by Hadrian, and dedicated in 135, though it must have been begun earlier (*v.* Richter, *Topog. d. S. Rom.*[2] p. 166. Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie*, I. 3. p. 17).

which may not unreasonably be attributed to the same find, are the fragments of a triumphal procession and a sacrifice before an architectural background drawn in the *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 3439 on pp. 83, 85, 86, 88 (**Plates XX–XXIV**). These are drawn on the same leaves as the Borghese reliefs and the lost Victory, which were all in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and it is exceedingly probable that reliefs drawn together were all together in the same collection. The *extispicium* before the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was found in Trajan's forum. Therefore we may assume as a working hypothesis that all the reliefs drawn with it, both those lost and the one that has always accompanied it, were found with it. When we come to consider their subjects it will be seen that there are other reasons for connecting the lost fragments with the others.

It thus seems fairly certain that Prospero Boccapaduli had all these reliefs in his charge or in his private possession. He was a well educated man, and had a taste for art. There existed at one time in the archives of the family a sketch book of sculpture supposed to have been drawn by him.[1] He died in 1585, and his heirs may have sold his collection. Thus perhaps three of the reliefs passed to the villa built about 1615 by Cardinal Scipione Borghese,[2] who was distantly connected with the Boccapaduli family, and another, the 'Horatius,' was sold to Cardinal Medici, who bought the Villa Medici at that time. Such a dispersal of his collection is of course mere conjecture. The fate of the other fragments is unknown, but it is always possible that they may reappear.

II.—*Their Style and Subjects.*

The pedigree and provenance of these reliefs being thus fairly clear, we may proceed to attempt a rearrangement of them, and some estimation of their style and place in the history of Roman Art. As regards arrangement we must first consider the other fragments drawn with them by Panvinius in the *Codex Vaticanus* 3439. The leaves of the *Codex* which concern us are the following:—

This question will be discussed below. It must be observed that, whatever the date of the finding of the first fragment, it may have been in Boccapaduli's possession, and that the second is definitely said to have come from Trajan's forum. Cf. Matz-von Duhn, *op. cit.* iii. No. 3519.

[1] Bicci, *op. cit.* p. 107. 1.

[2] Bicci, *op. cit.* p. 104.

f. 83. **Plate XX.** The right hand part of the Louvre relief with the pediment of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; Louvre, 1089, **Plate XXV.**

f. 85. **Plate XXI.** *A.* The right hand fragment of the sacrifice of two bulls; Louvre, 1098, **Plate XXVII.**

B. A round building of two arcades with a domed roof before three small gables.

C. A fragment which by the shading shows part of the edge of a slab.

f. 86. **Plate XXII.** *A.* A fragment with a portion of a popa in the act of striking, and part of a man before a Doric colonnade, on which stands an arch.

B. A fragment of a gable over a low arcade on an architrave.

C. A bearded and a beardless man before a Corinthian column.

D. Two lictors appearing over the backs of two horses; the reins are seen hanging from the edge of the triumphal car.

E. A part of an emperor in a car.

f. 88. **Plate XXIII.** *A.* The right hand part of the *extispicium*; Louvre, 978, **Plate XXVI.**

B. A headless Victory holding the staff of a *vexillum* in her right hand, flying to the left above two *fasces.*

C. The left hand part of the sacrifice of two bulls; Louvre, 1098, **Plate XXVII.**

D. Three men and a *camillus* before a building composed of gables above a low arcade resting on the architrave of a colonnade.

f. 94 B. **Plate XXIV.** The *extispicium*; Louvre, 978, **Plate XXVI.**

A. Now reference to the Berolinensis[1] drawing shows a triangular gap existing in the Extispicium-Jupiter Capitolinus scene below the left corner of the temple, and that the head of one man is missing. This gap is exactly filled by the fragment *f.* 86 c. Thus the group before the temple is completed. This disposes of *f.* 83, *f.* 86 c, *f.* 88 a, and *f.* 94 b, **Plate XXIX.**

B. The Victory next claims our attention. The manner in which she flies over the *fasces* of lictors suggests a Victory above a triumphal

[1] *Röm. Mitt.* 1891, Pl. III.

procession, as on the panel of the arch of Constantine showing the adventus of M. Aurelius.[1] The *fasces* connect her with the lictors of *f.* 86 d. The lictors by the horses of a triumphal car—they are laurel-wreathed, and so we know a triumph is concerned—are perhaps to be joined to the fragment of the emperor in a car of *f.* 86 e. Thus we have part of a triumphal procession showing an emperor in the triumphal car escorted by laurel-wreathed lictors, over whose heads *Victoria* flies to crown the conqueror; **Plate XXX.**

C. Of the other reliefs drawn *f.* 85 a and *f.* 88 c combine to make up, without restorations, the greater part of the sacrifice of bulls, which is now in the Louvre; **Plate XXXI.**

D. Four of the remaining fragments, *f.* 85 b, *f.* 86 a, *f.* 86 b, and *f.* 88 d, seem to be closely related by the extraordinary architecture in the background. Two of them, *f.* 85 b and *f.* 88 d, clearly join, and *f.* 86 b, since its architecture is almost identical, must be placed close to the left hand side of those two. Likewise *f.* 86 a may be conjecturally placed to the left again, since the heads on the two fragments we have joined all look to the left. The position of the remaining fragment, *f.* 85 c, is altogether uncertain. It may have been on the right of this group, as shown in the reconstructed drawing (**Plate XXXII**) or have belonged elsewhere.

Thus we have four historical reliefs, none of which exists as drawn in the *Codex*, and one has lost one of its most important parts, the pediment of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. All the small fragments have entirely disappeared. But proceeding from the reconstructions we can now deal with them in more detail.

A.—*The Scene before the Temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus.

The large relief of the *extispicium* before the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* certainly came from Trajan's Forum,[2] and is also Trajanic in style.[3] There is no particular feeling for texture, and the whole is rendered in a hard serious manner very similar to the reliefs of the arch at Beneventum and the Trajanic battle scenes on the arch of Constantine (**Plate XXVIII**).

[1] *Papers B.S.R.* iii. Pl. XXIV. 3.
[2] *v.* above, p. 232, Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 165, note.
[3] For an account of the Trajanic style see *Papers B.S.R.* iii. pp. 280, 292.

In composition we have in this relief the Trajanic method of consecutive groups arranged in a frieze representing as it were successive views of the same procession. This broken down processional treatment is very noticeable on the reliefs of the passage-way of the arch at Beneventum,[1] and is to be remarked in the battle scenes already referred to. It is also the method employed for relating the Dacian campaigns on the column. A bold, simple composition rendered in a broad, effective style is typical of Trajanic art, and coupled with the hard and military treatment already observed is characteristic of an age of bold imperial enterprise.

As a further proof of the Trajanic date of the relief we may take the inscription cut on the right forefoot of the bull which Pierre Jacques[2] drew, and which still exists. This reads :—

M . V · - - -
O RE ·
T ES

After the V Pierre Jacques saw an L, therefore we may restore the whole as M. VL[PIVS] | ORE[S] | TES. This is the signature of the artist of the relief. The form of his name would indicate that he was a client or freedman of Trajan, since it is well known that such persons took the *nomen* and *praenomen* of their patron. Probably Orestes[3] was a Greek artist admitted to Roman citizenship by Trajan and not a freedman.

We have now to consider the meaning of the scene represented. The reliefs as they now exist in the Louvre (**Plates XXV, XXVI**) have been considerably restored and damaged: their condition when found is shown, with as near an approach to accuracy as is possible, in the reconstructed drawing (**Plate XXIX**). The restorations are as follows going from left to right :—

The Bull, nose and part of the entrails.

A. *Man behind bull*, head and chest, right shoulder, left arm and hand.

B. *Haruspex*, head and left arm.

[1] Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, p. 109, Figs. 37, 38 ; cf. below, p. 261.

[2] S. Reinach, *L'album de P. J.*, *f.* 18.

[3] Orestes occurs as the name of a sculptor in a Pergamene inscription ; Fränkel, *Inschriften v. P.* i. 75. For the form of the name compare M. Cossutius Kerdon and A. Sextus Eraton ; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, 334, 376. For the introduction of the artist's signature into the relief compare the inscription ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΣ ΕΠΟΕΙ on the wall-paintings from the Farnesina ; Helbig, *Führer*[2], ii. p. 221.

C. *Man behind*, head.
D. *Victimarius*, right hand, nose, thumb, and handle of axe.
E. *Lictor*, nose.
F. *Lictor*, head, left thumb, right hand and foot.
G. *Lictor*, right foot.
H. Both feet worked over.
I. Nose, mouth, right eye, forehead, and hair.
J. *Emperor*, both hands and forearms, head.

A triangular piece has been inserted here at the bottom to restore the lower part of the legs and the feet of these two.

K. *Flamen*, nose.
L. Head, right hand; both feet lost.
M. Nose.
N. *Man on extreme right*, right hand and both feet lost. This figure has been worked over.

To the left of the relief we see lying on its back, the bull that has already been slain. The *victimarius*, who struck it down, stands near with shouldered axe. Another is visible behind. The bull is being cut open by the *haruspex* who is conducting the *extispicium* under the superintendence of a man in a toga holding a staff of office in his left hand. He is probably a sacrificial magistrate. To the right of the bull are three lictors. Next to the right in front is a man in a toga, from his central position, apparently a person of importance. He seems to have been bearded. As his head is preserved only in the Vatican drawing (*f.* 86 c), it is impossible to advance any conjectures about his identification with Hadrian or any other of Trajan's *comites*. Facing this man is a headless figure in the centre of the whole group. He is undoubtedly the chief person, and therefore must be identified with the emperor, Trajan. Behind him is a *flamen*, recognizable from his *apex*. Since the temple in the background is that of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, he is probably the *flamen Dialis*.[1] The group before the temple is completed by five other figures: the two behind the emperor are probably senators, the others perhaps officials. Since none of the persons concerned in the scene wear laurel wreaths, it is certain that no triumph is in question. Therefore another solution must

[1] He also appears in the Aurelian panel representing a sacrifice before the same temple, *Papers B.S.R.* iii. Pl. XXVI. 7.

be sought. Mr. Stuart Jones has suggested that this relief represents the *nuncupatio votorum* on the Capitol before Trajan set out on his Dacian campaigns. Since the other reliefs from Trajan's forum concern the Dacian wars, this relief also is probably connected with them: and so this suggestion may be correct.

The hexastyle Corinthian temple in the background is without doubt that of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Though the part that showed the pediment is unfortunately lost, it is preserved in four drawings.[1] Another independent monument also represents the pediment, one of the panels from the arch of M. Aurelius in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. The artist of the latter relief has abbreviated the temple by making it tetrastyle. His representation of the pediment differs from that shown in the drawings, and the point is worth examining in some little detail.[2] We see in the Aurelian relief[3] Jupiter in the centre of the pediment with Juno on his right and Minerva on his left. At his feet is the eagle. Below Juno is seen a youth, perhaps Ganymede. On the left of Minerva is Mercury, and below him Aesculapius and Salus (Hygieia). To the right of Juno is Luna in her car descending to the left, and beyond Vulcan and the Cyclopes at an anvil. To the left of Mercury is Sol in his car ascending, and three figures which might also represent Vulcan and the Cyclopes. As acroteria the pediment carries a quadriga in the centre and a biga at each corner. The drawings[4] of the lost relief show a somewhat different composition. Cod. Vaticanus,[5] 3439, *f.* 83, **Plate XX.**

Quadriga

Statue base — Venus — Mars

Biga of Luna, *ascending* — Juno — Jupiter — Eagle — Minerva — Biga of Sol — Cyclopes? — Recumbent figure — Biga

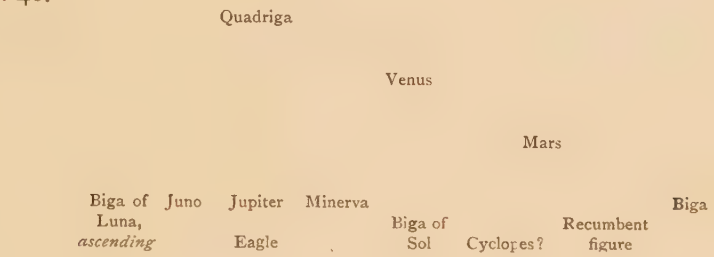
[1] See above, p. 230.

[2] For previous discussions of the pediment, see Schulze, *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, Brunn, *Kleine Schriften*, i. p. 105, Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v. Capitolium.*

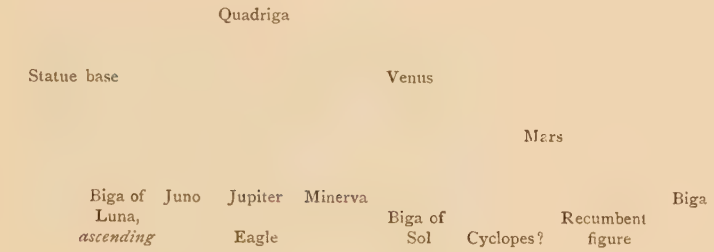
[3] *v.* Brunn, *Kleine Schriften*, *loc. cit.* Fig. 31. [4] See above, p. 230.

[5] Audollent (*Mélanges d'Arch. et Hist.* 1889, p. 125) criticizes this drawing adversely. It is however for a sketch exceedingly good, and compares very well with the others. To obtain an idea of Panvinius as an accurate artist, see the drawings of the arch of Titus. *Cod. Vat.* 3439, *ff.* 75,89.

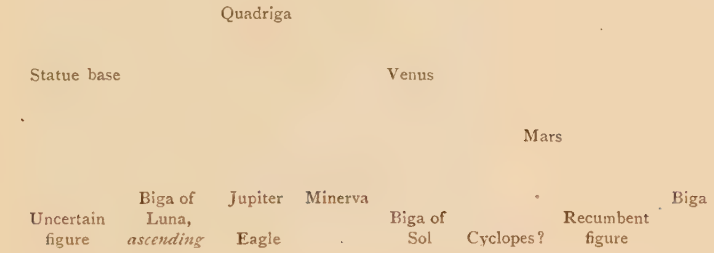
Pierre Jacques, *f.* 48.



Berolinensis, *f.* 25.



Coburgensis, *f.* 156.



The figures standing on either side of the eagle do not appear in these drawings: probably if they were shown in the relief, they were broken off. This will also explain the presence of only one figure instead of three behind Sol. Similarly the recumbent figure in the angle, to which we may assume with Schulze a corresponding figure in the other angle, is wanting in the Aurelian relief. But this latter relief is probably correct in showing Luna descending. Whether the representation of her as ascending is due to the sixteenth century artists, or to the Trajanic sculptor's idea of symmetry cannot be decided. In any case the descent of

Luna and the ascent of Sol form an exceedingly close parallel to the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. We may then venture to reconstruct the pediment as follows :—

Quadriga

Female statue — Venus

Male statue — Mars

Biga	Recumbent figure	Vulcan and two Cyclopes	Biga of Luna, *descending*	Juno	Jupiter	Minerva	Mercury	Biga of Sol	Group of three figures	Recumbent figure	Biga
				Hercules	Eagle	Salus	Aesculapius				

The reclining figure in the right-hand angle seems male; we may on Greek analogies assume it to be a river-god, Tiber. The corresponding figure was probably, as Schulze suggested, Tellus. Next to these there is on each side a group of three persons. That on the left is without doubt to be recognized as Vulcan with two Cyclopes.[1] That on the right is so similar that the same explanation suggests itself, but it is hardly conceivable that one deity would be represented twice in the same pediment. But no satisfactory name for the group can be found, unless we imagine it to be Neptune and the Venti to complete the tale of the four elements. Next we have on either side Sol and Luna in their cars ascending and descending. Then comes the central group, whose names are all certain, except the male figure below Juno. Brunn and Schulze call this Ganymede; it is more likely to be Hercules. Above, between the *quadriga* in the centre and the *bigae* below, stand two statues on each side. On the right are Mars, and Venus recognizable from her semi-nudity and proximity to Mars. Of those on the left the upper judging by the remains of drapery seems to have been female. These also were probably a pair of deities, male and female. Thus we obtain a good conception of the pedimental group of the Capitoline temple. It follows the Greek tradition in the careful balance observed, and in the positions of Sol and Luna there is an obvious reminiscence of the Parthenon.[2] There is the central group of the principal deities bounded by Sol and Luna, which emphasize the cosmic idea. Beyond we have each side symmetrical groups of three, Vulcan and his assistants, symbolizing fire, and the doubt-

[1] As a mere conjecture, these may have been Ceres and Saturnus.

[2] Cf. Waldstein, *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*, pp. 178 *seqq.*

ful group, which may perhaps be Neptune and the Venti. Finally in each angle we have Tellus and Tiber. Thus earth and fire are balanced by air and water, and these four elements surround the supreme divinity of the central group already framed by the gods of light. The asymmetry shown by the introduction of Mercury, and the balancing of Hercules against Salus and Aesculapius, is an artistic trick designed to hide the studied composition.

This pediment of course belongs to the temple rebuilt by Domitian[1] after the fire of Titus. The previous temple was that built by Vespasian,

FIG. 1.—THE 'HORATIUS' OF THE VILLA MEDICI.

of which we have representations on coins.[2] To judge by the similarity of the later pediment to the coins, Domitian seems to have followed his father's plan very closely; for in the pediment of Vespasian's temple on the coins we again see a central group of three deities with corresponding groups on each side. It seems to have been quite usual in Rome to make the composition of pediments symmetrical. Those of the temple of

[1] Richter, *Topographie d. Stadt Rom*[2], p. 125.
[2] Cohen,[2] Vespasian 486, Titus 242, 243, Domitian 23, 172–174.

Quirinus,[1] of the temples of Mars[4] and the Magna Mater,[2] of which we have representations on reliefs, all show the same balanced composition which is undoubtedly imitated from Greek temple sculptures.[3]

We have conjectured above that these reliefs formed part of a series illustrating Trajan's Dacian campaigns. It is noticeable that the extant fragments do not form one composition, and must therefore have been executed at different times and probably by different artists. We may arrange them as follows:—

A. The *Nuncupatio Votorum.*

B. The Campaigns.

(1) The eight slabs on the arch of Constantine.[4]
(2) The fragment in the Louvre.[5]
(3) The 'Horatius' of the Villa Medici (**Fig. 1**).[6]

C. The Triumph (?). The three reliefs in the Villa Borghese formerly wrongly attributed to the arch of Claudius.[7]

All three groups of reliefs differ in style as well as in composition. The first two are more alike in style, and the last two in the height of the slabs,[8] and in the crowding and size of the figures.[9] It is of course possible that **A** has no connection with the Dacian campaigns, and relates to some other incident in Trajan's career. Still, since they all probably came from Trajan's forum, and the total height of the slabs is the same, it is reasonable to suppose that they formed part of the same scheme of decoration.

Besides these there are two more fragments that we can consider from their style as Trajanic. One[10] is a large relief, unfortunately broken and

[1] Hartwig, *Röm. Mitt.* 1904, Pl. IV.

[2] Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, pp. 63, 67.

[3] On the composition of Greek pediments see Furtwängler, *Aegina*, pp. 316 *seqq.*

[4] *v.* Sieveking apud Brunn-Bruckmann, 580; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Pls. XLVII, XLVIII.

[5] *Papers B.S.R.* iii. p. 226, Fig. 1; in *Les Monuments Antiques du Musée Napoléon*, iv. (1806), Pl. 77, its provenance is given as Trajan's forum; Louvre, *Cat. Somm.* No. 412.

[6] Mrs. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Pl. L., Messrs. Duckworth have most kindly lent the block for this illustration.

[7] Stuart Jones, *Papers, B.S.R.* iii. p. 215, Pl. XX.

[8] **A** is 1·96 m. high (it must have been at least 2·50 m. originally); the slabs on the arch of Constantine, **B** 1, are 3·00 m. high; the highest fragment of **C** is about 2·30 m. high.

[9] In **A** the figures are 1·41 m., in **B** 2·27 m., and in **C** 1·70 m. high.

[10] Museum No. 460; Benndorf-Schoene, *Die ant. Bildwerke d. Lat. Museums*, 223; the relief is 1·75 m. high, and the standing figure in its present state is 1·61 m. high.

incomplete, in the Lateran (**Fig. 2**). It is conceivable that it may have had some connection with this Trajanic series. At all events its style seems to be of that period, and shows the same effective vigorous workmanship coupled with a hard rendering and little sense of texture. The relief shows the lower right-hand corner of a slab. On it stands a man clad in a long toga and wearing boots. He is almost certainly a person of some

[*Photo, Moscioni.*

FIG. 2.—RELIEF IN THE LATERAN.

importance. Before him seated on a rock is part of a male figure clad in an *exomis* that leaves the right arm and shoulder bare. Its provenance is unknown, but it certainly comes from some imperial monument. Its size as well as its style suggests connection with the Trajanic group.

The second is a fragment formerly in the Mattei collection and now in

the Louvre (**Fig. 3**).[1] It has undergone considerable restorations. These are as follows from left to right:—

A. *Bearded man*, part of laurel wreath.

B. *Flute player*, most of fingers, flutes, part of laurel wreath.

[*Photo, Giraudon.*

FIG. 3.—RELIEF FROM THE MATTEI COLLECTION, NOW IN THE LOUVRE.

C. *Victimarius*, right hand and arm, head.
Bull, left horn, nose, half of ornament on head.

D. *Victimarius*, head, right hand, most of left arm and axe.

[1] Louvre, *Cat. Somm.* 992; *Monumenta Matteiana*, iii. p. 74, Pl. XXXVIII; from the Mattei collection it passed to that of Cardinal Fesch, thence to the Aguado collection, and afterwards came to the Louvre. H. 1·65 m.; L. 2·09 m., the whole relief was probably about 2·30 m. high originally. M. Michon writes as follows concerning it, *certains indices m'ont donné la conviction que ce bas-relief devait provenir du même édifice, sans doute un arc de triomphe, que le No.* 1079. No. 1079 is a relief representing five Roman soldiers. It has been much restored, but the soldiers are beardless, and their eyes are plain. The style also is Trajanic, especially in the drill ornamentation. Other Trajanic reliefs are the fragments in Turin (*Memorie dei Lincei*, Ser. V. Vol. viii, pp. 34 *seqq.*). Similar in style also are two heads from high reliefs at Berlin (*Ant. Skulpturen B. Museums*, 960) and at Mantua (Museo Civico, 221, Dütschke, iv. 807).

There are also restored the bottom and left edges, the peak of the temple pediment, and fragments of the drapery on the figures.

The two original heads are both beardless, and the eyes are plain. The hair is stiff and straight, and not worked with the drill. The dry, rather unnatural rendering of the faces recalls those on the Trajanic reliefs on the arch of Constantine, and the fragment in the Louvre. Another point of similarity is that the use of the drill is restricted to ornamentation. Here the ornaments on the bull, the temple and the architecture show the same use of the drill in minor details that is observable in the decoration of the shields, helmets, and other armour of the battle scenes referred to. Nothing being known of the finding of this relief, it is impossible to do more than conjecture its provenance from Trajan's forum or a triumphal arch of that emperor. In any case it represents a sacrifice in honour of a triumph, since the figures wear laurel wreaths. The temple and gateway before which the sacrifice takes place cannot as yet be identified. As before the size and style of the relief incline us to consider it Trajanic.

But still more alike in style to the *extispicium* group are the two fragments in the Lateran and the Museo delle Terme believed to represent a procession before the temple of Venus and Rome.[1] In style, size, and composition the reliefs are very like one another. Still there is little doubt that the temple in the Lateran delle Terme relief, if decastyle, is that of Venus and Rome. This temple however was built by Hadrian, who consecrated it in 135 A.D. long after Trajan's death. At its consecration the temple may not have been finished, but there is no reason to suppose it was begun by Trajan, although we may assume it took several years to build. The Lateran fragment was found according to Nibby in Trajan's forum,[2] but the provenance of the other piece is not known. From the date of the temple we are bound to assume the relief to be Hadrianic. Thus, since this date seems certain, its Trajanic style—recognised by Thorwaldsen, who restored a head of Trajan on the Lateran fragment—compels us to assume that

[1] *v.* Petersen, *Röm. Mitt.* 1895, p. 244, Pl. V. ; *v.* above, p. 234, n. 1. According to the *Chronica* the date of its dedication was 132 or 135. In Pauly-Wissowa (i.[1] p. 508, *s.n.* Aelius, 64) von Rhoden gives the date as 128. As Hadrian was in or near Rome from 118 to 120, from 126–128, and from 134 till his death, and most probably dedicated so important a temple himself, its dedication must fall in one of the periods given. Possibly the temple of Venus and Rome like his villa (Winnefeld, *Villa Hadrians*, p. 26) was begun between 126 and 128 and finished after his return in 134. For a restoration of the relief see Michaelis, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1906, p. 315, Fig. 1.

[2] *Roma nel* 1838, parte antica, ii. p. 218.

Trajanic artists were still working on his forum during Hadrian's reign. This leads to a further suggestion that Trajan's forum begun about 113 A.D. the date on his column, was not finished at his death. It seems reasonable to suppose that the enormous excavation, the building, and the decoration took more than five years. The *Forum Transitorium* begun by Domitian before 95 A.D.[1] was continued by Nerva and only completed by Trajan. The fact that this building, comparatively small by the side of Trajan's forum, required at least six years, gives us every reason to suppose that Trajan's forum occupied about twelve years in building. That it was still in construction under Hadrian, is proved by the fact that the plan was altered to admit the *Templum Traiani*. Thus it should cause us no surprise to find a Hadrianic relief in Trajanic style in Trajan's forum. It is fair to believe that the artists and decorators employed continued to work under Hadrian, since we know that Apollodorus,[2] Trajan's chief architect, continued in the imperial service after his death. Since it was the custom not to sculpture reliefs till the marble slabs had been placed in their proper position in the building, some of Hadrian's acts may well have been commemorated by the side of those of his predecessor.

This must be our argument if we follow the orthodox view[3] and believe the temple on the relief to be decastyle and therefore to represent that of Venus and Rome. The identification rests on the supposition that the temple represented had ten columns. Careful examination of the relief, however, shews that if we restore the angle of the pediment, it stops not over the fifth but over the sixth column.[4] A dodecastyle temple is not to be thought of, therefore we must assume it to be in perspective,

[1] *v.* Stuart Jones, *Papers B.S.R.* iii. p. 244, 2.

[2] Apollodorus was apparently still alive in 133, if Hadrian consulted him about siege operations in the Jewish revolt (*v.* Pauly-Wissowa, i.[1] p. 513). His adverse criticism of the temple of Venus and Rome, which is supposed to have made Hadrian execute him, was probably expressed after the temple was finished (cf. Cassius Dio, lxix. 4). If the temple was completed in 135, it is possible that Apollodorus was put to death in 136 at the time that Ursus Servianus, another Trajanic veteran, and others were executed after the adoption of Aelius Verus.

[3] Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 238, Mrs. Strong also believes, following a suggestion of Petersen, that these large Trajanic reliefs do not represent the Dacian Wars already detailed on the column, but thinks they relate to the Dacian campaigns of Domitian. To me at least the reliefs appear certainly Trajanic rather than Domitianic (*op. cit.* pp. 149, 164).

[4] Coner however thought it was decastyle: *Papers B.S.R.* ii. p. 64 b. Professor Furtwängler tells me he believes that the temple is not decastyle and not that of Venus and Rome; but he thinks the relief is Augustan.

as can be seen from the slope of the roof and the gradually widening interspaces between the columns on the right. The temple then may have been octastyle. If this view is accepted the identification of the temple as that of Venus and Rome falls to the ground, and a Hadrianic date is no longer necessary for the relief. Thus all difficulty vanishes, and we are free to consider the relief Trajanic on stylistic grounds alone, as Benndorf and Schoene, and Thorwaldsen thought. The octastyle temple may be that of Mars Ultor or Venus Genetrix,[1] and the relief relate to the *inauguratio* of Trajan's forum.

Finally we have to answer the question as to the position of this group of Trajanic reliefs in the decoration of his forum. Unfortunately on this evidence is entirely lacking. It is however a reasonable conjecture that they decorated the wall under the colonnade that encircled the area.[2]

B.—*The Triumphal Procession.*

The next fragments with which we have to deal are those that we have tried to combine into part of a triumphal procession (**Plate XXX**). There is no certainty that any of the fragments belong together, but there is at the least a strong probability that the Victory and the lictors are part of the same scene. In the triumphal procession of the arch of Titus Victory accompanies the emperor, before whose car march laurel-wreathed lictors. She is again the companion of M. Aurelius[3] and Diocletian[4] at their triumphs. Laurel-wreathed lictors also march before the triumphal car, probably of Domitian, in the relief of the Belvedere.[5] The connection of the Victory and the lictors seems obvious by reason of the fasces appearing below her feet.

The connection of the piece showing a figure standing in a car is not so probable. The edge of the car seems on a level with the emperor's foot, while in the reliefs of Titus and M. Aurelius the car rises to the waist. Again on the fragment with the lictors the reins are seen rising to their shoulders, which gives confirmation to the belief that we should have here a high car of the type seen on the reliefs quoted. It is merely to give an idea of the composition that this fragment has been allowed to

[1] The pediment sculptures would suit either of these temples. Prof. Hülsen suggests as another possibility the temple of Mars *extra portam Capenam.*

[2] See the plan given by Richter, *op. cit.* Pl. II.

[3] v. *Papers B.S.R.* iii. Pls. XXVI. vi.

[4] *v.* below, p. 274 and Pl. XXXVII.

[5] *Papers B.S.R.* iii. p. 283, Fig. 1.

remain where it is in the reconstructed drawing, since it is not at all certain that it belongs to the other two fragments. In any case it is clear that the artist drew this fragment on a much larger scale.

Any discussion as to the style of this relief is impossible, since our knowledge of it rests only on these drawings. But satisfied that it represents a triumph, we may attempt to find out to what triumph it could refer, bearing in mind the probability that these reliefs were found in Trajan's forum. The earliest triumphs in the second century were Trajan's Dacian triumphs in 103 and 106 A.D. In honour of these were erected an arch[1] in the first region and the column as well as the battle scenes on the arch of Constantine and the other reliefs discussed above.[2] The third was the Parthian triumph celebrated by Hadrian in 119 A.D. in honour of the dead Trajan. Then comes a long gap, neither Hadrian himself nor Antoninus Pius having held a triumph, and the fourth is that of M. Aurelius and L. Verus in honour of the latter's Parthian victories in 166. Then follow the triumphs of M. Aurelius and Commodus in 176, and of Commodus in 180. Of the latter we have no monument. The former is commemorated by the Aurelian column and the panels on the arch of Constantine and in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.[3] The Torlonia relief[4] probably came from the arch of L. Verus[5] that celebrated his Parthian triumph. Therefore our relief must fall between 103 and 119 or between 166 and 180. If we could determine its period, we might suggest what triumph it celebrates.

A test for its date must lie not in its style, but in its composition. We may assume that the artist, probably Panvinius, who drew the fragments in question, drew them fairly accurately. As proofs of his accuracy we may put forward the two drawings of the arch of Titus[6] in the same *Codex*. These when compared with the originals not only show the extraordinary care of the artist, but also that since the sixteenth century the reliefs have been little damaged.

Now in the fragment showing the lictors by the triumphal car, it is

[1] *v.* Richter, *Topographie d. S. Rom*, pp. 61, 71, 318; Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie*, i. 3, p. 216, where it is considered probable that it may be identical with the so-called Arch of Drusus, which had originally three openings, inside the *Porta Appia*.

[2] *v.* above, pp. 244 *seqq*.

[3] *v.* Stuart Jones, *Papers B.S.R.*, pp. 251 *seqq*.

[4] Matz-von Duhn, *Ant. Bildwerke in Rom*, iii. No. 3526.

[5] Richter, *op. cit.* p. 349; Jordan-Hülsen, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Cod. Vaticanus*, 3439, *ff.* 75, 89.

noticeable that though they are behind the horses their arms, shoulders, and chests are clearly visible above them. On the arch of Titus only the heads and necks are seen above the horses. If we turn to the panel of the triumph of M. Aurelius,[1] we at once remark that of the trumpeter and the other figure the arms and shoulders appear above the horses' backs. A steep perspective is found in Trajanic reliefs, noticeably the battle frieze on the arch of Constantine (**Plate XXVIII**). But, although there are there several rows of heads one above another, the perspective is never so distorted as it is in the Aurelian relief.[2] The Aurelian method of putting the figures in the background on a higher level than those in front is also well illustrated by the position of the hill in the panels of the *lustratio* and the sacrifice.[3] Since this peculiarity, which seems to occur mainly in Aurelian reliefs, is observed in the fragments under discussion, we must place them in that period rather than in the Trajanic.

They in that case should refer to the triumphs of 166, of 176, or of 180. Since the reliefs probably came from Trajan's forum, the triumph of 166 can be excluded, for the *Arcus Veri* stood on the *Via Appia* in the first region.[4] If we incline to refer these fragments rather to the triumph of 176 than to that of 180, it is because we have no record of any triumphal monument of Commodus, while an *Arcus M. Aureli* is known of from the Einsiedlensis.[5] Therefore we may conjecture that these fragments come from some monument of M. Aurelius erected in or near Trajan's forum. To this point we shall return again below.[6]

C.—*The Sacrifice of Bulls.*

We now pass to a consideration of the other Borghese relief in the Louvre[7] (**Plate XXVII**). A comparison of the reconstructed drawing (**Plate XXXI**) and the photograph of the relief in its present condition gives a general idea of the restorations it has undergone. It will be convenient however to give a detailed list of them from left to right.

[1] *Papers B.S.R.* iii. Pl. XXVI. vi; cf. Pl. XXIV. iv.

[2] The 'bird's-eye perspective' of Trajan's column cannot be considered here, since it is an entirely different method of composition.

[3] *Papers B.S.R.* iii. Pl. XXVI. vii, XXVII. viii.

[4] Richter, *op. cit.* p. 349; Jordan-Hülsen, *loc. cit.*

[5] *C.I.L.* vi. 1014. Also on the coins referring to this triumph Victory is seen flying over the procession and does not accompany the victors in the car, Cohen[2], M. Aurelius 367, Commodus 738.

[6] *v.* page 253 *seqq.*

[7] H. de Villefosse, *Cat. Somm.* 1098.

A. *Victimarius*, head, right hand, and foot.
Bull, nose, left horn and ear.
B. *Man above bull*, head and shoulders.
C. } *Men behind*, noses.
D. }
E. *Camillus*, head and shoulders.
F. *Victimarius*, head, shoulders, hands, and forearms.
Bull, left horn.
G. *Bearded man above bull*, nose.
H. *Camillus*, head, hands,and the object in the hands.
I. *Camillus*, nose.
J. *Man with fasces*, nose.

All the lower right-hand corner with the altar is also modern, the triangular piece above the right-hand bull does not seem to be original, and has not been included in the reconstructed drawing. That there were more figures than the artist drew is certain, since the upper left-hand part with the columns and two figures does not occur in the Vatican *Codex*. All the figures wear laurel wreaths, so a triumph is again in question. Also it is to be noted that Pierre Jacques in his drawing [1] of the right-hand fragment portion places at the end of the fasces a patched border exactly similar to that seen on most of the fragments grouped above under D, in which the figures are also laurel-wreathed. Since therefore **C** and **D** seem to belong together it will be best to discuss group **C** with **D**.

D.—*The Fragments with an Architectural Background.*

As we have stated above, the common factor in the four principal fragments grouped together in the reconstructed drawing (**Plate XXXII**) is the architectural background. Another point to be observed is that in two (*f.* 85b, and *f.* 88d) of the fragments the figures are laurel-wreathed. This scene also seems to have concerned a sacrifice, since in one piece we recognize a *victimarius* and in another a *camillus*. Thus this group has in common with the Borghese relief **C**, the subject—a sacrifice, the laurel wreaths, the hatched border at the top, and the architectural background. The top of the Borghese relief **C** has been cut away, but similar Doric columns occur in one piece of Group **D**, which shows an upper arcade like the other fragments. We may even go so far as to conjecture that both

[1] S. Reinach, *L'Album de P. J.*, Pl. 17 *bis*.

groups formed originally one composition, of which **C** is the left and **D** the right half. The subject is a sacrifice of four bulls, two of which are visible, and the presence of a *camillus* and a *victimarius* in **D** some distance away from one another hints that two more bulls were included. This sacrifice celebrates a triumph, since all the figures wear laurel wreaths. It perhaps represents the *Solutio Votorum* on the emperor's return after a successful campaign. The Borghese relief seems to be complete on the left, and all its principal figures look to the right. On the other hand in **D** all the figures are turned to the left. Thus we might expect the emperor to have been in the centre of the whole composition. This would have formed a frieze at least twice as long as the Borghese relief, which is 2·30 m. long. Thus we may assume the original obtained by uniting the two groups **C** and **D** to have been about 5 m. long. This is about the length of relief necessary for the inner faces of the piers of a triumphal arch. The sides of the arches of Titus, Septimius Severus, and of Constantine are respectively 4·73,[1] 7·07, and 6·58 metres long, consequently it is just possible that the reliefs when in their original state decorated the inside of one pier of a triumphal arch.

Granted then that these reliefs refer to a triumph, we may attempt to determine to what triumph they relate. As stated above[2] in discussing group **B** there are only six triumphs in the second century which they might celebrate. These are the Trajanic triumphs of 103, 106, and 119, the Parthian triumph of L. Verus and M. Aurelius in 166, and the Germanic triumphs of M. Aurelius and Commodus in 176 and 180. Thus these fragments should belong either to the Trajanic or the Aurelian period. When we examine the stylistic details of the only part that survives, the Borghese relief in the Louvre, there is no reason against dating it to the latter period. All the original heads have the eyes indicated in the manner that is first found in the Hadrianic period and becomes usual afterwards.[3] The iris is indicated by an incised circle, and within that the pupil is rendered by two small drill holes side by side. We further notice the free, loose drilling of the hair and beard so common in Aurelian portraits.[4] Another characteristic of the same period is, as remarked above, the manner in which the figures in the background are made to stand a good head and

[1] The length of the reliefs is 3·89 metres. [2] *v.* p 250..
[3] Cf. *Journal Brit. and American Arch. Soc. of Rome*, vol. iii. 8, p. 468.
[4] Cf. *ibid.* p. 474.

shoulders above those in front. The rather clumsy composition, the excessive use of the drill, the thick, short figures, which are only 1·18 m. high, and the high relief recall the Aurelian panels on the arch of Constantine.[1] In a word there is little doubt that, as far as style is concerned, this relief is of the Aurelian period.

Therefore we may take it that one of the Aurelian triumphs is in question. As before, as the reliefs probably came from Trajan's forum, the Parthian arch of L. Verus is excluded, since it was in the first region. The Germanic triumph of Commodus in 180 was insignificant, and celebrated no definite success against the enemy.[2] Also we have no record of any triumphal monument of this emperor. We may therefore consider if it is possible for these reliefs to have belonged to an arch of M. Aurelius. Such a monument certainly existed, since the Einsiedlensis saw its inscription *in Capitolio*.[3] There are also eleven panels that belonged to some arch of this emperor, three once in Santa Martina, now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and eight in the attica of the arch of Constantine. Mr. Stuart Jones[4] brings these into connection with the arch called by the '*Mirabilia*' *Arcus panis aurei in Capitolio* and believes it to be the same as the *arcus argentariorum sub monte Tarpejo* of the forged bull of John III, and that the arch of M. Aurelius stood below the Capitol on the *Clivus Argentarius* by the modern Via di Marforio. However his arguments that the *arcus panis aurei in Capitolio* is the same as the *arcus argentariorum sub monte Tarpejo* do not seem convincing. The latter arch from its position between the *hortus mirabilis* (the forum of Augustus) and the *Mons Tarpeius*, which name in the Middle Ages was applied to the whole of the Capitoline hill[5] must have been somewhere on the west side of Trajan's forum. It may have been one of the entrances to that forum, or an arch standing in it. But that an arch described as *sub monte Tarpejo* could be *in Capitolio*[6] hardly seems possible. Now all the reliefs that can be connected with this arch of M. Aurelius point to some relation with Trajan's forum.[7]

[1] v. *Papers B.S.R.* iii. Pls. XXIII.–XXVIII.

[2] *v.* Pauly-Wissowa, ii.[2] p. 2472. [3] *C.I.L.* vi. 1014.

[4] *Papers B.S.R.* iii. p. 253. [5] Jordan, *Topographie d. Stadt Rom*, ii. p. 463.

[6] The *arcus panis aurei in Capitolio* was perhaps that of Nero; *v.* Tacitus *Ann.* xv. 18.

[7] Mr. Stuart Jones, who has read this paper in proof, makes the following objections to the argument: (1) The inscription of M. Aurelius was *in Capitolio* and there was also an arch *in Capitolio*; it is natural to connect the two; (2) The list of arches in the *Mirabilia* follows the *Via Lata* south to S. Marco, and then gives *arcus in Capitolio*. The *Clivus Argentarius* continued the *Via Lata* and there was an *arcus argentariorum*, so again the connection is natural. Also *sub*

The panels in the Palazzo dei Conservatori were once in Santa Martina,[1] which stands near Trajan's forum, together with the Trajanic reliefs in the Villa Borghese formerly wrongly attributed to the arch of Claudius.[2] The decoration of the arch of Constantine besides the eight Aurelian panels comprises eight slabs of a battle frieze universally admitted to be from Trajan's forum, seven statues of Dacian prisoners, and some of the columns and architectural ornament[3] from the same source. Similarly the Borghese relief in the Louvre **C** has always been, as far as we know its history, a companion to the extispicium group **A**, which we now know certainly came from Trajan's forum. With them were also the fragments of groups **B** and **D**. It thus seems likely that this arch of M. Aurelius stood in Tragan's forum. Since the arch must have been injured by the removal of eight of its reliefs by Constantine, there is no reason why, it being destroyed, its inscription should not have been *in Capitolio* at the time of the Einsiedlensis. Further it is quite probable that there were triumphal arches in Trajan's forum. We know in fact that one arch did stand there. In 116 A.D. the Senate according to Cassius Dio,[4] *ἀψίδα αὐτῷ* (*s.c.* Trajano) *τροπαιοφόρον πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορᾷ αὐτοῦ παρεσκεύαζον*. This has always been supposed to be the grand entrance to his forum, which appears on coins almost certainly not later in date than 114 and inscribed FORVM TRAIANI.[5] It seems unreasonable to identify what the coins call the FORVM TRAIANI with an arch erected *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορᾷ*—that is to say that the whole building represented on the coins is identified with an arch which stood within that same building. Therefore we must

monte Tarpeio (on the slope of the Capitol) might equal *in Capitolio* when taken vaguely; (3) S. Martina, whence the panels in the Palazzo dei Conservatori came, is on the line of the *Clivus Argentarius*; (4) The inscription would hardly have travelled from Trajan's forum to the Capitol unless the arch was destroyed, and yet it is represented as probable that the reliefs remained in Trajan's forum.

[1] *v.* Helbig, *Führer*, i.[2] 559–561.

[2] Stuart Jones, *Papers B.S.R.* iii. pp. 215 *seqq.*

[3] Richter, *Topographie d. Stadt Rom*[2], p. 173. The medallions, which probably came from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, were taken by Constantine for special reasons; *v.* Stuart Jones, *Papers B.S.R.* iii. pp. 229 *seqq.* The provenance of the four slabs of the frieze, which are probably Diocletianic, is unknown; *v.* below, p. 274.

[4] lxviii. 29.

[5] Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*, p. 250; Cohen[2] (167–169), Rossini (*Archi Trionfali*, p. 11), and Arndt (Brunn-Bruckmann, text to 555, 559, 560, 565) thought the medallions shown on the building of the coins to be the round reliefs on the arch of Constantine. That Stuart Jones was right (*Papers B.S.R.* iii. p. 247) in thinking that the medallions on the coin were *clipei* to contain busts, is shown by the words of Sangallo quoted above (p. 231), *due tonde per mettere una testa*, which refer to sculpture found in Trajan's forum (cf. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 148, note).

take the words of Dio to refer to an arch and the coins to represent the grand entrance to the forum. There is nothing against arches standing in Trajan's forum. In the *Forum Romanum* were the arches of Augustus, Septimius Severus, and Tiberius,[1] in the *Forum Transitorium* a *Janus*,[2] and in the forum of Augustus the arches of Drusus and Germanicus.[3] Similarly we know that in the forum of Trajan stood an arch of that emperor.[4] To pair with this we can supply conjecturally the arch of M. Aurelius. The upper part, the attica, of this arch would have been decorated with the eleven panels mentioned above. One side of its archway would have been occupied by the reliefs of groups **C** and **D**, as supposed above. The other side perhaps contained the composition of which group **B** are fragments, the emperor in his car attended by lictors and crowned by Victory. It will be remembered that we suggested an Aurelian date for these reliefs,[4] and were disposed to connect them with the triumph of 176. Also the Victory was once in the Palazzo dei Conservatori with the Borghese reliefs, and it and the other fragment of **B** are drawn in the Codex Vaticanus on the same pages as reliefs of groups **A**, **C**, and **D**. Consequently, since all these reliefs seem to belong to the same find, and to come from Trajan's forum, if group **B** cannot belong to group **A** which is clearly Trajanic and does not refer to a triumph, there is every reason to connect it with groups **C** and **D**, which like **B** are also triumphal and of the Aurelian period.

It remains for us to discuss briefly the strange architecture in the background of group **D**. We see on the right a long colonnade of Corinthian columns. Some support the architrave directly, others are separated from it by low arches. Above the main architrave is a low arcade. This has three kinds of arches, (1) plain semicircular arches, (2) some supported on Corinthian columns, (3) others resting on Doric columns. Above this is a cornice with dentils, which is surmounted by a series of small pediments also with dentils. Most probably the Doric columns of **C** continue the left-hand fragment of **D**, although there appears to be a break in the background on the right of **C**. Before this colonnade on the right is a round building of two stories, both of which consist of an arcade surmounted by a dentil band. Above the second story is a domed roof. It is quite uncertain what buildings in Rome are

[1] *v.* Hülsen, *Roman Forum*, pp. 66, 82, 150.
[2] Richter, *op. cit.* p. 114. [3] Richter, *op. cit.* p. 112. [4] *v.* above, p. 255.

here represented. An arcade in the second story of a colonnade is rare.[1] It apparently existed in the now destroyed 'Temple de Tutelle' at Bordeaux,[2] a second century building; and mediaeval drawings of the so-called *Crypta Balbi* show similar architecture.[3] We might then suppose the *Crypta Balbi* to be represented here. This building has recently been identified by Hülsen[4] as the *Porticus Minucia*, which was one of the places where *congiaria*[5] were distributed. The sacrifice then may represent the *Solutio Votorum* of M. Aurelius on his return and triumph in 176.[6] It must be remembered that the so-called *Crypta Balbi* were near the *Circus Flaminius* and the temple of Bellona, buildings intimately connected with triumphs. If we assign the two reliefs, as suggested above, to the passage-way of a triumphal arch, we have represented the procession and the *Solutio Votorum* with the promise of a *congiarium* to follow. The Doric architecture on the left may be the *Porticus Philippi*, which stood near.

The presence of the four bulls may indicate that two emperors sacrificed on this occasion. This would suit the triumph of 176 very well, since we know that Commodus was associated with his father in it. At all events there is no reason against assigning these reliefs to an arch of M. Aurelius. Their style is in favour of their attribution to this period, but there is no definite proof that they do belong to such an arch. Still the conjecture put forward is very probable.

We hope that we have been enabled to add something to our knowledge of Trajan's forum and its decoration, and of the Borghese reliefs. At least we have determined the date and provenance of the relief showing the *extispicium* before the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. If the Boccapaduli archives could be searched, and the sketch-book of Prospero Boccapaduli be found, we should quite possibly be able to confirm our conjectures or replace them by certain knowledge as to the date and origin of the other fragments.

[1] The most famous example of this is in the palace of Diocletian at Spalato, a late third century building; Adam, *Ruins of Emperor Diocletian's Palace*, Pl. XIII. On the development of this architectural motive, see Schulz, *Jahrbuch*, 1906, pp. 221 *seqq.*

[2] Jullien, *Inscriptions de Bordeaux*, i. 79, ii. 557, Pls. X, XI; Geymüller, *Les Du Cerceau*, Fig. 50, p. 107.

[3] Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 498, Fig. 194; cf. Fabriczy, *Handzeichnungen Giuliano's da Sangallo*, pp. 24, 25.

[4] Jordan-Hülsen, *op. cit.* I. iii. pp. 514, 545 *seqq.*

[5] Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.*

[6] Cf. Cohen,[2] M. Aurelius 1026, Commodus 981.

THE RELIEFS FROM THE ARCO DI PORTOGALLO.

During the middle ages these two reliefs[1] (**Plate XXXIII**) formed part of the decoration of the so-called *Arco di Portogallo*, which spanned the Corso close to San Lorenzo in Lucina. On the destruction of that arch, which was apparently only either a mediaeval *pasticcio* or a construction of the later empire built with the spoils of other monuments, by Alexander VII in 1662,[2] they were removed by the Conservatori to the staircase of the Museo Capitolino. In 1815 they were transported to the corridor of the Palazzo dei Conservatori.[3] In 1903[4] on the rearrangement of the Museum in that Palazzo one of the reliefs, the Apotheosis, was transferred to the upper landing outside the picture gallery.

For some time past the reliefs have been considered as dating from the time of Hadrian.[5] As I have recently had the opportunity of examining them closely with a ladder to ascertain the amount of restoration, it will perhaps be worth while to reconsider the arguments as to their date, which rest upon stylistic grounds only. In the first place the restorations must be given in detail.

A. Emperor making a proclamation (**Plate XXXIII,** 1).

The Emperor: the right ear and the whole right side of the head including the beard and lower lip, the right arm and shoulder, the projecting part of the left hand, which has been rightly restored, both feet and various splinters from the drapery are all new. On the upper lip is a moustache, so the emperor was originally bearded. The *suggestus* on which he stands has been almost entirely restored, none of its original surface is now visible. *The beardless man behind the emperor* also on the *suggestus*: the eye, nose, mouth, and chin are new: the rest has been worked over.

The bearded man on the *suggestus*: the face and head have been worked over, and his right arm is restored.

The man with a spear: the right arm and shoulder, the nose, right

[1] Helbig, i.[2] 564, 565; Michaelis, *Röm. Mitt.* 1891, p. 53; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 506; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 236.

[2] *v.* Richter, *Topographie d. Stadt Rom*, p. 261; Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie*, I. iii. p. 466.

[3] *v.* Lanciani, *op. cit.* [4] *Bull. Com.*, 1903, 317 *sqq.*

[5] *v.* Helbig, *loc. cit.*; Lanciani considers the arch to have been antique and of the Antonine age (*Bull. Com.* 1892, pp. 18–23).

cheek, fingers of left hand, the spear, and the right leg are restored. The left hand probably held a spear originally.

Boy before the emperor: the top of the head, the lower part of the face, and both hands are new.

Semi-nude youth on right: his right hand and forearm, mouth, chin nose, left eye, and forehead are restored. The projecting parts of the left hand are new, also parts of his chest and drapery. The left hand held some long object, since there is a *puntello* on the thigh and the drapery on the shoulder is broken.

Man behind youth: nose and eye are new.

The temple in the background is perfect except that the end of the gable, and architrave with the capital below are damaged. In the pediment is visible the tail of a snake or of a Triton.

The whole relief is 2·67 m. high and 2·09 m. wide, and was never any wider or higher, since remains of all the original edges may still be traced. It has been cracked, but on the whole is in good condition.

B. Apotheosis of an empress (**Plate XXXIII,** 2).

The emperor: the right hand and fingers, the left hand and fingers, the nose, left eye, wreath, left ear, and hair, the left cheek, jaw, and mouth are new. He was originally bearded, because there is a moustache on the upper lip, and there are traces of whiskers before the crack on the neck. Parts of the drapery are also restored.

Man behind emperor: most of the hair, the left ear, left side of face, mouth, eye, and nose are new.

Empress: the nose, left hand and breast, most of left leg and the drapery round it are restored. The fingers of the right hand are missing The head has been slightly worked over but is original.

The winged figure: has been badly damaged. The end of the right wing is new, as also are the nose, mouth, and chin. Both breasts, both forearms with hands, the foot and knee of the right leg, and all the torch but the flame are restored.

Seated figure: all the forearm and hand, small pieces of the drapery and of the body are new.

Of the pyre the squared masonry is, if not modern plaster, at least recut.

The relief is 2·10 m. wide and 2·68 m. high, and does not seem to

have ever been any larger. It is badly cracked, and all the upper left corner is new, but on the whole its condition is fair.

It will thus be seen that apart from the style, we have two fixed points to aid us in dating the reliefs: the certainty that the emperor was bearded, and the head of the empress. Since the emperor was bearded, the reliefs, which, as the measurements show clearly, form a pair, cannot be earlier than the Hadrianic period. The portrait of the empress, if we can identify it, will form a surer ground for a possible date. The head fortunately is very perfect and closely resembles the later portraits of Sabina, especially those on coins inscribed DIVA AVGVSTA SABINA and lettered on the reverse CONSECRATIO.[1] Also only on the coins on which she is called DIVA is she veiled.[2] The style of the hairdressing agrees also with that adopted by her.[3] The hair is waved back from the forehead, and fastened in a knot on the crown, and in front above the forehead is placed a *stephane*. Since Plotina, Matidia, and Marciana are never shown wearing their hair in this fashion, which does not occur at a later period than that of Hadrian,[4] we may conclude that the empress here represented is Sabina. It is also to be noted that the head closely resembles the portraits identified as Sabina from the evidence of the coins.

Now that the personality of the empress is determined, it is easy to explain the reliefs. The Apotheosis, **Plate XXXIII,** 1, represents the burning and deification of Sabina in the *Campus Martius* personified by the reclining figure before the pyre.[5]

The other scene, **Plate XXXIII,** 2, will then represent the *laudatio memoriae* of the same empress. We see Hadrian[6] on a *suggestus* making the formal oration. Behind him stand a bearded man whom we may possibly recognize as Aelius Verus, consul in 136, the year of Sabina's death.[7] The beardless man may be the other consul Vetulonius Civica. We might suppose as is usual the *praefectus praetorio* rather than the consuls to be the emperor's companion. But this scene is essentially civil

[1] Cohen[2], 27–34. [2] Cohen[2], 27–34, 56.

[3] Lady Evans, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1906, p. 52, Pl. IV. 32; Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikonographie*, ii. 2, Pl. XL. pp. 128 *seqq.*; Wace, *Journal Brit. and American Arch. Society of Rome*, iii. 8 p. 474.

[4] See Bernoulli, *op. cit.*; Lady Evans, *op. cit.*

[5] Cf. the base of the column of Antoninus Pius, Amelung, *Cat. Skulp. Vatican. Mus.* i. p. 883.

[6] Part of the *laudatio* of Matidia spoken by Hadrian himself is preserved, *C.I.L.* xiv. 3579.

[7] For these and other dates, etc. of Hadrian's reign, see Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. Aelius*, 64. The bearded man might be a personification of the Senate, cf. *Jahreshefte*, ii. p. 179.

and not military, therefore we might naturally expect the consuls to appear. The man by the side of the *suggestus*, since the restoration of the spear seems correct, is without doubt the *trecenarius* of the *speculatores* or imperial bodyguard.[1] Of the figures before the emperor we may recognize with Helbig in the semi-nude youth the *genius Populi Romani*, introduced to personify a crowd of citizens as on the arch of Beneventum.[2] We may then restore in his left hand a *cornucopiae*, which exactly fits the marks left by the missing attribute, and which is carried by the similar figure on the arch of Beneventum. Possibly the *laudatio memoriae* was pronounced in the *Forum*: in that case we could identify the *suggestus* as the *Rostra* and the temple-like building as the *Curia*, which we know was of the Corinthian order.[3]

We have thus definitely obtained a Hadrianic date for the reliefs, and it remains to be seen if their style agrees with the date assigned. The first point to notice is the panel composition. It has been shown elsewhere that the panel style begins to replace the processional at the close of the Trajanic period. Up to the Flavian age the processional style is dominant, as exemplified in the *Ara Pacis*,[4] in the arch of Titus, and in the Domitianic fragment in the Vatican.[5] On the arch of Beneventum, in the long reliefs of the main archway,[6] where we should expect a processional composition, the treatment is rather that of a group. There is a distinct centre round which the figures were arranged, and no movement of them before the spectator. In the panel reliefs of the faces of the arch there is the same treatment. The persons are grouped round the emperor. But two things are to be noted: the figures are too crowded, and the arrangement of the heads in two or more rows is not so marked as in early Trajanic art. In these two Hadrianic reliefs, the next dated monument after the arch at Beneventum (which dates from the last year of Trajan, 117), we find a distinct advance in the panel style. The figures are less crowded and better spaced, and there is never more than one row of heads. But as in the Beneventum panels the relief ends directly above the heads of the figures, and there is no vacant space as in the Aurelian groups.[7] In the actual execution of the

[1] Stuart Jones, *Papers B.S.R.* iii. p. 263, 1, 2.
[2] Domaszewski, *Jahreshefte*, ii. p. 179.
[3] Hülsen, *Roman Forum*, pp. 112 *sqq.*
[4] Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Plates.
[5] *Papers B.S.R.* iii. pp. 280, 281, Fig. 1.
[6] Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, p. 109, Figs. 37, 38; *Papers B.S.R.* iii. pp. 280, 281, 292.
[7] *Papers B.S.R.* iii. Plates XXIII–XXVIII.

reliefs there is a dull formality and a lack of freshness. In the Apotheosis the figures of Sabina and *Aeternitas* have a rather Greek appearance. In details the use of the drill is very noticeable, especially in the hair, and is far more marked than in Trajanic sculptures. In them the drill is only used as an accessory in the working of the hair. Here the hair is almost entirely worked by it. Further a difference can be observed between the drill work here and that on Aurelian reliefs. Here the work is rather flat, and the curls are tight, and the drill runs through them. In Aurelian portraits the hair is very loose, and has the appearance of having been lifted up by the drill. Apart from these points the reliefs have little stylistic distinction, and their execution is commonplace and facile. But on the whole there is no reason why they should not be Hadrianic, and they fall into place here very well since they shew the transition from the Trajanic to the Aurelian style.

Since these reliefs came from the *Arco di Portogallo* near San Lorenzo in Lucina, they probably belonged to a monument situated somewhere in that part of the *Campus Martius*. Now not far off at Monte Citorio stood the *Ustrinum Antoninorum*,[1] and further to the north by San Carlo was another *Ustrinum* by the mausoleum of Augustus.[2] At both of these places the ceremonial burning of members of the imperial house took place. Therefore we may assume the burning of Sabina to have occurred near here. Thus it is highly probable that just as M. Aurelius and L. Verus erected a column in honour of Antoninus Pius on the spot where he was burnt, so Hadrian set up a monument to his wife, at the place where she was cremated and deified. There will then be a striking similarity between the sculptures on the two monuments.[3] On the front of the base of the Antonine column, there is on the left the *Campus Martius* personified as in the Hadrianic relief.[4] The deified Antoninus and Faustina are borne to heaven by a winged male figure, perhaps the *Genius Jovis*, which compares well with the female *Aeternitas*. On the right, instead of the emperor, Roma is seated watching the scene. The back of the base is occupied by the inscription, and the sides by the representations of the *decursio* in honour of the deceased. We may then assume that the two Hadrianic

[1] Richter, *Topographie d. Stadt Rom*, p. 255. Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie* i. 3. p. 605.

[2] Richter, *op. cit.* p. 250. Jordan-Hülsen, *op. cit.* p. 620.

[3] *v.* Amelung, *op. cit.* Pls. 216, 217, 218.

[4] It is interesting to observe how the Hadrianic upright panel has broadened into the oblong Aurelian relief. The latter shows the group composition on a relief of the *pluteus* shape.

reliefs occupied two sides of a similar base;[1] a third side would have contained the inscription, and the fourth side, supposing it to have been visible, may have been occupied by the text of the *laudatio* or by a third relief now lost. If the base had only three decorated sides we could arrange the reliefs thus :—

Back

Relief, *Laudatio memoriae*	Relief, *Consecratio*

Inscription

It is possible that Sabina's ashes rested here till their removal to the mausoleum of Hadrian by Antoninus Pius after he completed it in 139.

Since Sabina died towards the end of 136 A.D. these reliefs must date from the interval between her death and that of Hadrian. They therefore fall in the period from 136 to 138 A.D. Thus a careful examination of these reliefs has enabled us to restore to the *Campus Martius* somewhere near the *Ustrinum Antoninorum* an important and dated monument hitherto unknown, which we may call the *Columna Sabinae*.[2]

A RELIEF IN THE PALAZZO SACCHETTI.

The provenance of this relief (**Plate XXXIV**) is quite unknown, nor can it be ascertained how long it has been in its present position.[3]

[1] It is hardly likely that the Arco di Portogallo was a memorial arch to Sabina, since every extant account and drawing of the arch lead us to suppose that it was, if not a mediaeval *pasticcio*, built by some late emperor out of the spoils of earlier monuments. The *Mirabilia* always calls it *Arcus Octaviani*. As Poggio (*De Var. Fortunae*, apud Urlichs, *Codex Topographicus*, p. 239) apparently saw some remains of its inscription, it is quite likely that *Octaviani* conceals the name of its builder, a late emperor such as Gratian or Valentinian. It is probable that had the authors of the *Mirabilia* thought the arch to be that of Augustus they would have called it *Arcus Augusti* and not *Arcus Octaviani*. Hülsen (Jordan, *Topographie d. Stadt Rom*, i. 3, p. 467) thinks the arch cannot have been earlier than the second century.

[2] The *Ustrinum Antoninorum* is not mentioned by any author, and its existence was unsuspected, till it was discovered by excavation. The correct name of the *Columna Antonini* was also unknown till it was excavated in 1703. *v.* Amelung, *op. cit.* p. 883; Richter, *op. cit.* p. 255; Hülsen, *Röm. Mitt.* 1889, pp. 48-64; Jordan-Hülsen, *op. cit.* p. 603.

[3] Matz-von Duhn, *Ant. Bildwerke in Rom*, iii. No. 3516. In Murray's *Central Italy and Rome* (2nd ed. 1850), p. 515, it is said that the statues in the Palazzo Sacchetti were collected by Cardinal Ricci: I have been unable to find any confirmation of this statement. I am inclined to doubt it, since the same authority says Benedict XIV bought the sculptures and founded the

Braun, who first published it over fifty years ago, attempted to explain it as the reception of a triumphant emperor by the senate,[1] and referred in this connection to a passage of Josephus describing the meeting of the Senate with Vespasian and Titus before the Jewish triumph. He also in accordance with the words of Josephus[2] recognized the building in the background as the *Porticus Octaviae*, but he made no attempt to date the relief beyond remarking that its style seemed late.

It is perhaps possible to determine the subject and date of the relief. In the first place Braun's opinion that it referred to a triumph is untenable, since none of the figures wears laurel leaves. We have then to look for another explanation. It will be an advantage if we can first determine its style. The relief is 2·35 m. long and 1·575 m. high, and the figures are ·97 m. high. Though badly weathered it has not been restored. There is a large patch of plaster in the background over the heads of the front figures before the *suggestus*. The whole lower border on the left, with the feet of the figures which are missing, has also been replaced by plaster. The most noticeable feature is the fact that it is almost entirely worked with the drill. The overhanging cornice is loaded with ornament that is honeycombed with drill holes. The short squat figures all wear heavy beards and long hair, which are also drill worked. One man only, who stands just below the window in the background, has his hair and beard clipped close. Thus we might assume the relief to date from the period just before the time when it became usual to clip the hair and beard quite close.[3] This fashion, it is well known, began before the reign of Caracallus and was dominant by the time of Severus Alexander. We might thus venture as a working hypothesis to date the relief from the time of Septimius Severus. The points of style noticed agree well with the extant monuments of his reign. His triumphal arch and the *arcus argentariorum* are crowded with heavily drilled ornamentation. The squat figures in this relief can be paralleled by those on the later arch. In portraits of Septimius Severus and of his rival Clodius Albinus the most noticeable feature is the honeycomb drilling of the bushy beard

Capitoline Museum. Clement XII, who bought the Albani collection and gave it to the Capitol, was the true founder of that Museum. I have been unable to trace any of the statues given to the Capitol by Benedict XIV to the Sacchetti Collection. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 301.

[1] *Bull. Inst.* 1853, p. 85; *Mon. Ann. e Bull. Inst.* 1854, p. 78, Pl. 11.

[2] vii. 5. 4.

[3] v. *Journal Brit. and American Arch. Soc. Rome*, iii. 8, p. 476.

and long hair.[1] In the portraits as well as on the relief we find the treatment of the eye that prevails after the Hadrianic period.[2] Amongst the figures on the *suggestus* we might expect to be able to identify one or two of them with some of Severus' family. The seated emperor is unfortunately headless. But the head of the youth on the emperor's right is fairly well preserved (**Fig. 4**). A youthful member of Severus' house should be either Caracallus or Geta. When we compare with this

FIG. 4.—CARACALLUS ON THE SACCHETTI RELIEF.

FIG. 5.—CARACALLUS IN THE CAPITOL.

figure the heads once wrongly called Geta, but which Bernoulli has rightly determined to be the youthful Caracallus (**Fig. 5**), the likeness between the two is striking.[3] There is the same oval-shaped face with puffy cheeks, and a look of sulky obstinacy is common to both. The hair is in short rather tight curls. Further a comparison of this figure with the Caracallus on the *arcus argentariorum* leaves little doubt that the figure on the Sacchetti

[1] *Ibid.* p. 475. [2] *Ibid.* p. 468.

[3] Bernouilli, *Röm. Ikon.* II. 3. pl. XXI. p. 51.

relief is to be identified with him. We may thus proceed on the assumption that our working hypothesis is correct.

Before attempting an explanation, let us recapitulate the scene. On the right on a low *suggestus* is seated the emperor Septimius Severus. On his right stand two figures, one headless, probably Fulvius Plautianus, the *praefectus praetorio*: the other we have just identified as Caracallus. Behind him stand a bearded man and a headless youth, perhaps Geta. Before the *suggestus* stand eleven men in togas, probably senators. They come towards him from under an arch decorated with two Victories. The whole of the background is occupied by a building with engaged Corinthian pilasters, and in the middle a small window. Against one of the pilasters we see traces of two lances. These probably indicate that in the restored space there stood two *speculatores*.[1] We may thus assume that the scene represents some formal occasion when Severus communicated an important decree to the Senate. A brief consideration of the early part of his reign will help us to decide this.

On the death of Pertinax and the accession of Didius Julianus the armies in Britain and Gaul, in Pannonia, and in the East made their commanders candidates for the purple. Severus with the Pannonian troops won the race to Rome, and became the avenger of Pertinax. He won over his nearest rival Clodius Albinus with the title of *Caesar*[2] and the promise of the succession. Then proceeding to the East he crushed his most dangerous enemy, Pescennius Niger. In 196 he returned victorious to Rome. The rival Augustus removed, he could afford to deal shortly with Albinus. It is said he dispatched assassins with the letter in which he announced to him the defeat of Niger.[3] At all events he broke with Albinus, and declared as *Caesar* his son Bassianus, giving him the name of M. Aurelius Antoninus, and thus linked him to the Antonine dynasty,[4] just as he had called himself son of M. Aurelius and brother of Commodus. In 197 he returned to Rome after the defeat and death of Albinus. Then he could carry out his plans to establish his family on the throne and legitimatize its pretensions. He obtained from the Senate recognition of his son's rank as *Caesar*, which had been conferred while the latter was in Pannonia.

[1] Cf. Stuart Jones, *Papers B.S.R.* iii. pp. 263, 1, 2, 249.
[2] *Scriptores Hist. Augustae*, xii. 1, 2; 7, 3; Herodian, ii. 15. 2.
[3] *Script. Hist. Aug.* xii. 8, 1; Herodian, iii. 5. 2, cf. iii. 6. 1.
[4] *Script. Hist. Aug.* x. 10, 3; 10, 6.

Other honours too were heaped on Caracallus. He became *princeps Iuventutis*, *Pontifex*, a *sodalis Augustalis*, and probably one of the *fratres Arvales*. The Senate also gave him *insignia imperatoria*[1] ; and he was proclaimed *imperator destinatus*. He alone of all future emperors placed this title on his coins.[2] This formal proclamation took place in Rome and was w thout doubt an occasion of some ceremony. This is the scene then that we may conjecture is celebrated by the Sacchetti relief, the formal presentation of Caracallus to the Senate as *Imperator Destinatus*. There is every reason to suppose this event would have been commemorated by a monument, since it was of great dynastic importance to the house of Severus. It was his ambition to found an imperial family. He thought to accomplish this by adopting the Antonine line as his ancestors, and giving his son a name that recalled the good government of Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius.[3] It would be the crowning point of his policy to set up a sculptured monument as an outward and visible sign of the continuation of the Antonine line. The proclamation of Caracallus as *Imperator Destinatus* is more likely to have been commemorated than his promotion to the rank of *Augustus*, since that took place at the instance of the army in 198 during the Parthian campaign. We may recognize then in this relief the proclamation of M. Aurelius Antoninus, who later won for himself the nickname Caracallus, as *Imperator Destinatus*, and the recognition by the Senate of the legitimacy, if we may say so, of the house of Severus.[4]

It is impossible even to guess what monument this relief originally decorated. It seems certain that it stood fairly high above the ground, for the tops of the heads are left rough. Also the two Senators, whose heads look up so awkwardly, do not appear clumsy when seen from below. As suggested by Matz and von Duhn the likeness of this relief to the Trajanic *plutei*[5] in the Forum is remarkable; but we cannot identify the buildings represented in it. The arch on the left recalls the scene on the arch of Beneventum, in which Trajan is seen entering the forum. But this proclamation of Severus, we might imagine, would have taken place in the senate house. We must confess that in the relief the indications of locality are so vague that we cannot say what are the buildings represented.

The front and side of the *suggestus* on which the emperor is seated are

[1] *Script. Hist. Aug.* x. 14, 3. [2] Cohen[2], 53, 54.

[3] *Script. Hist. Aug.* x. 21, 11.

[4] For other references to the early history of Caracallus, see Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 2, p. 2440.

[5] Hülsen, *Roman Forum*, p. 98.

adorned with twelve rows of three round knobs (**Fig. 6**). Similar knobs occur on the reliefs in the Villa Albani celebrating the institution of the *Puellae Faustinianae* by Antoninus Pius,[1] on the Aurelian panels of the arch of Constantine, and in the Palazzo dei Conservatori,[2] and on coins which represent *congiaria*, *liberalitates*, *adlocutiones*, and the like.[3] In only two cases do they not occur, on the Hadrianic relief once on the Arco di

FIG. 6.—ANGLE OF THE *SUGGESTUS* ON THE SACCHETTI RELIEF.

Portogallo (**Plate XXXIII**, 1), and on the base of the supposed statue of Nerva which figures on the Trajanic *pluteus* in the Forum.[4] The *suggestus* on the Hadrianic relief is so restored that its evidence is neutral.[5] But on

[1] Helbig, ii.[2] 778, 779. [2] *Papers B.S.R.* iii. Pls. XXIII–XXVIII.

[3] Cohen[2], M. Aurelius 75, L. Verus 159, Caracalla 273; Grueber, *Roman Medallions*, Pl. XLI. 6, XLVII. 2; Froehner, *Médaillons de l'empire Romain*, pp. 154, 184, 211.

[4] Richter, *Topographie d. Stadt Rom*, Pl. 8, a; Hülsen, *Forum Romanum*, pp. 84 *seqq.*

[5] On the Diocletianic relief on the arch of Constantine (**Plate XXXVI**, Fig. 1) the suggestus has no knobs, but as the *rostra* in the companion relief (**Plate XXXVI**, Fig. 2) have no ships' beaks, this omission perhaps need not be taken seriously.

the Aurelian reliefs knobs occur on *suggestus* shown in scenes in the field and in camp as well as in Rome. This diversity of place indicates that the *suggestus* with round knobs is no permanent erection, but a movable wooden platform, and that the knobs are the ends of stays or tie-beams. They occur too when mythical figures such as Roma are introduced, as in the Antonine relief already mentioned. Even if the *suggestus* in the scenes of *congiaria* like that on the Aurelian panel on the arch of Constantine are taken to be of stone, the knobs would indicate the survival in stone of a peculiarity due to wood construction. We may then say that, when we find an emperor standing on a suggestus with knobs, a real scene is represented, and the emperor is meant to be alive. Consequently on the Trajanic *pluteus* the fact that the base on which stands the supposed statue of Nerva has no knobs, confirms the usual view that the base is a statue base, and not a *suggestus*.

Finally it is interesting to observe that this relief shows a group composition in relief surviving in the age of Severus. Hitherto the map-like reliefs of his arch led us to suppose that what we may call bird's-eye perspective was the only method employed at that time. The group system which first occurs on the arch of Beneventum is at its best in the Aurelian panels on the arch of Constantine and in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.[1] The bird's-eye perspective occurs on the Trajanic and Aurelian columns,[2] but is first used for ordinary relief-work for the *decursiones* on the base of the column of Antoninus Pius.[3] It is fully developed on the arch of Septimius Severus. Consequently the survival of the group or panel system seems to indicate the continuance of artistic tradition even in this period. This particular relief though a group has been lengthened almost into a *pluteus*. In this respect it has the same relation to an ordinary panel relief that the long *Consecratio* scene on the base of the column of Antoninus Pius has to the Hadrianic panel from the Arco di Portogallo (**Plate XXXIII,** Fig. 1). As we know the *pluteus* still existed in the Hadrianic period,[4] we can only surmise that with the development of the bird's-eye perspective style, the *pluteus* and panel

[1] *Papers B.S.R.* iii. Pls. XXIII–XXVIII.

[2] Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule*, Plates; Petersen, Domaszewski, and others, *Die Marcussäule*, Plates.

[3] Amelung, *Cat. Skulp. Vat. Mus.* Pl. 217.

[4] *E.g.* the Chatsworth relief, Petersen, *Röm. Mitt.* 1899, Pl. VIII.

became assimilated to one another and eventually combined as we see in this Sacchetti relief. Further discoveries of historical reliefs will throw more light on this question of the development of types.

THE FRIEZE OF THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

Hitherto it has always been supposed that all the reliefs which form the frieze of the arch of Constantine were actually executed for that arch. A careful examination of these reliefs has led to a somewhat different conclusion. The slabs, or rather the groups of slabs (for each relief is carved on several blocks) which compose the frieze are arranged on the arch thus :—

South Side.

Battle at a River A — Siege of a City B

Triumph, Emperor in car F — C Triumph, car with captives

E Rostra — D Congiarium

North Side.

The scenes have been explained by different writers[1] thus :—

	VENUTI, *Descrizione*, IIIª EDIZIONE.	NIBBY, *Roma Arch.*, 1838, PARTE ANTICA, II. p. 454.	*Beschreibung Rom's.*	MONACI.[2]
A	Battle at Pons Mulvius	Pons Mulvius	Pons Mulvius	Pons Mulvius
B	Siege of Verona	Siege of Susa	Siege of Verona	Siege of Susa
C			Triumph of Crispus over Licinius and the Goths	Triumph of Constantine
D	Congiarium	Congiarium	Congiarium	
E	Allocutio	Allocutio	Speech on Rostra	
F			Triumph of Constantine over Maxentius	Triumph of Constantine

[1] Only those are given who have attempted any detailed description of the scenes.

[2] See his two papers in the *Atti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia*, 1901, pp. 107 *segq.*; 1904, pp. 3 *segq* ; and also *Bull. Comm.*, 1900, pp. 75–116. Cf. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 332.

It is the object of the present paper to examine the subjects of the reliefs, and to attempt to determine their date. The first point to notice is that an emperor is represented only in four of the six, in **B**, **D**, **E**, and **F**. In only one of these (**B**) is the emperor's head preserved. In the other three the heads are lost, and close examination reveals that these heads had been changed at some time or other. In the background of the reliefs as well as in the torsi of the figures holes have been carefully chiselled to admit new heads. This means that in antiquity the original heads were broken off, and new heads applied. When we consider the other sculptures of the arch it is probable that the emperor whose head was thus replaced was not Constantine and was bearded. In the reliefs of the main archway the beardless head of Trajan is still preserved.[1] In the Aurelian panels of the attica the bearded head of M. Aurelius was replaced by a beardless portrait of Constantine.[2] We reach this conclusion that, as Constantine was the first beardless emperor since Hadrian, a beardless head which might be taken for him was preserved, while bearded heads which could not possibly represent Constantine were replaced by his portrait.[3] It is reasonable to assume the emperor in the siege scene **B**, whose head is original and unchanged, to be the builder of the arch of Constantine, since the style of the relief points to that period. The other three, **D**, **E**, **F**, in which the head has been replaced, are so like the siege scene in style that they have always been thought to be contemporary. Therefore it is to be expected that these refer to one of Constantine's immediate predecessors. Since it is obvious that one of them **F** celebrates a triumph, we must find an emperor who satisfies both conditions. There are four possible emperors, Maxentius, who triumphed in 311, Diocletian, who celebrated a Persian triumph for the victories of Galerius in 303, Probus, and Aurelian, who triumphed in 280 and 274. As Maxentius' African triumph only occurred the year before his death, there would hardly have been time for him to erect a monument to commemorate it. Probus and Aurelian are rather too early to be considered. Diocletian's Persian triumph, which he celebrated on the occasion of his *vicennalia* in 303, is the most likely subject. The

[1] Sieveking (text to Brunn-Bruckmann 580) considers that the head has been worked over and made a portrait of Constantine.

[2] Stuart Jones, *Papers B.S.R.* iii. p. 251.

[3] *v.* Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*; Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf röm. Münzen*, Plates II–IV. The question of the Flavian medallions does not enter into the discussion here; *v.* Stuart Jones, *Papers B.S.R.* iii. pp. 229 *seqq.*

campaigns took place in 297 and 298 and were carried to a victorious conclusion by his Caesar Galerius. The triumphal arch at Salonica, which has been attributed to so many emperors, has been rightly determined by Dr. Kinch to be a memorial of his success.[1] As a working hypothesis we may consider the earlier reliefs to be Diocletianic. If however we find this impossible, we can consider the other alternatives.

Thus we may provisionally distribute the reliefs into two groups, Diocletianic and Constantinian, represented respectively by **D**, **E**, and **F**, and by **B**. An examination of technical points will help us to decide to which group the others belong.

A. (**Pl. XXXV,** 1). This relief has all its edges complete and fits properly into its architectural framework. Its lower edge rests on the blocks above the archway.

B. (**Pl. XXXV,** 2). This like **A** also fits exactly into the architecture round it, and the feet of the figures, though cut free, rest level on the blocks above the arch and are not broken.

C. (**Pl. XXXVII,** 2). This relief has no border at the end, and the right-hand part of the top border seems to have been cut away to admit the two blocks above. The bottom border has the same moulding as that of **A** and **B**.

D. (**Pl. XXXVI,** 1). Here it is noticeable that the relief has no proper bottom border, and that all the legs are broken at the ankle and have no proper feet. There are faint traces of feet roughly cut on the tops of the blocks above the archway. The moulding above which they appear is similar to the Constantinian mouldings below **A**, **B**, and **C**.

E. (**Pl. XXXVI,** 2). The figures here also have their ankles broken, and their feet are roughly cut on the two blocks above the arch, and the moulding below is of the Constantinian type below **A** and **B**. Also the bottom of the rostra has been clumsily cut away to fit the curving slab above the keystone.

F. (**Pl. XXXVII,** 1). This relief fits well into its architectural surroundings, but it is to be remarked that the moulding below, which

[1] *L'Arc de Triomphe de Salonique*, Paris, Libraire Nilsson, 1890.

is really part of the relief, is totally different from that below **A**, **B**, and the others.

Thus we may certainly connect **A** with **B** as Constantinian, and **C** is probably to be classed with **D**, **E**, and **F** as Diocletianic. It is likely from technical grounds that it belongs to the earlier class, and when we consider its subject this opinion receives confirmation.

A. (**Pl. XXXV,** 1). The subject of this relief, since it is Constantinian is almost certainly the rout of Maxentius at Pons Mulvius.

B. (**Pl. XXXV,** 2). This relief has been explained either as the siege of Susa or that of Verona. It seems more probable that the latter is here represented, since the defeat of Pompeianus at Verona was the decisive event of Constantine's campaign in northern Italy, and laid open the way to Rome. The emperor appears here dismounted, and superintends in person the siege operations, while Victory hovers by him. Neither this scene nor **A** can refer to a Persian or Germanic campaign, since the vanquished do not wear the typical eastern dress, and are not represented as barbarians. Both the contending armies seem to be Roman.

C. (**Pl. XXXVII,** 2.) This is without doubt part of a triumphal procession. In front we see trumpeters, then follow soldiers carrying *signa*. Next came others leading a camel and a mule laden with bags, probably of gold or other treasure.[1] The crouching figure before the mule is not easily intelligible. Lastly we have a cart drawn by four horses on which is seated a captive. This probably represents the cart in which the images of the family of Narses were shown in the triumph. Eutropius indeed says that his family actually appeared in the triumph,[2] but, since peace had been concluded some time before in 298, his family can no longer have been prisoners. The presence here of a camel suggests an eastern campaign, and this animal occurs in the reliefs of the arch of Galerius at Salonica which as Dr. Kinch has shown celebrates his Persian victories.[3] As the

[1] Camels laden with treasure, etc. are seen on the arch of Galerius at Salonica; *v.* Kinch, *Arc de Triomphe de Salonique*, Pl. VIII.

[2] ix. 27.

[3] Kinch, *op. cit.* The four-wheeled cart on our relief may be the Persian *harmamaxa* which Kinch identifies on the arch of Galerius; v. *op. cit.* Pl. VII., pp. 30, 31.

details of this relief can be explained if we consider it to be Diocletianic, and cannot if it be Constantinian, the earlier date is the more probable. Further it was not till 324, after the death of Licinius, that Constantine was brought into close relations with the East, and if the camel is to be taken as a sign of an eastern triumph, this relief cannot refer to Constantine, since the arch dates from 315.

D. (**Pl. XXXVI,** 1). This relief probably commemorates the *Congiarium* given by Diocletian after his triumph in 303. It is noticeable that the *suggestus* on which he sits has not the knobs which occur in all other cases. The building behind has been taken to be the *Porticus Minucia*, for *congiaria* were usually distributed there.[1] But this is only a conjecture.

E. (**Pl. XXXVI,** 2.). Here Diocletian is seen making a proclamation from the *rostra*.[2] On the right is the arch of Septimius Severus, and on the left that of Tiberius and the *Basilica Julia*. The ships' beaks are omitted from the front of the *rostra*, as the knobs are not shown on the *suggestus* in **D**.

F. (**Pl. XXXVII,** 1). This scene shows the emperor in the triumphal car, which is driven by Victoria. Most noticeable amongst the soldiers who accompany him are the *draconarii*, who also appear in the scene of the *allocutio* of the arch of Galerius. Kinch takes their presence there to mean that Dacian troops were employed in the Persian campaigns by Galerius, who was himself born in that province.[3] The use of *dracones* as ensigns was possibly borrowed from the Dacians. Their presence here agreeing with the arch of Galerius is perhaps an additional reason, if one were needed, to connect this relief with the triumph of Diocletian.

It is hardly possible that we can connect the Diocletianic reliefs with any definite monument of that emperor. We know that several buildings in Rome were erected or restored by him. The Chronicle of 354 says he built the senate house, the *Forum Caesaris*, *Basilica Iulia*, the theatre of

[1] *v.* Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. Congiarium*: they were distributed elsewhere; Commodus gave one in the *Basilica Ulpia* (*Script. Hist. Aug.* vii. 2. 1).

[2] Hülsen, *Roman Forum*, pp. 70, 72.

[3] Kinch, *op. cit.* pp. 15, 16; Pl. IV. See however Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. Draco.*

Pompey, two porticoes, three *nymphaea*, two temples, the Iseum and the Serapeum, the *Arcus Novus*, and the *Thermae Diocletianae*.[1] Of these the *Curia*, the *Forum Caesaris*, and the *Basilica Iulia* had been destroyed in the fire of Carinus.[2] The *Arcus Novus*, which the Chronicle ascribes to him, was pulled down by Innocent VIII in 1491.[3] It stood near Santa Maria in Via Lata.[4] Near here Marliani[5] saw many marbles dug up, '*in quibus*' he says '*trophaea triumphalesque imagines vidi, cum hac inscriptione*: *votis x et xx . . .*' Hülsen on the strength of this has assigned to the arch of Diocletian a relief in the Villa Medici, which has in it a similar inscription.[6] This relief in its present state is a *pasticcio* and probably consists of the missing *Pallada con due teste* of the Della Valle inventory combined with the inscription seen by Marliani.[7] In any case Marliani's words do not justify us in assuming that the inscription was on the triumphal reliefs. If however the whole of the Villa Medici relief really comes from the *Arcus Novus*, that arch can hardly have been that of Diocletian, since it is not of the style of the period, for Fulvio says *haud dubie posteriorum esse imperatorum ex ornatu apparet*.[8] This description does not suit the Medici relief, which deserves close and careful examination. If the *Arcus Novus* was that of Diocletian, Marliani's inscription proves the arch to have been erected after his *vicennalia* in 303, after his triumph. But there is no need to connect our four reliefs with a triumphal arch, they may have decorated the base of a monument, perhaps an equestrian statue in Trajan's Forum set up to Diocletian after his triumph. There exist drawings of sculptured bases set up in the *Comitium* celebrating the *vicennalia* of Diocletian and Maximianus and the *decennalia* of Galerius and Constantius, the latter of which has recently been re-found.[9] Constantine would have had no scruple in destroying or injuring a monument of Diocletian and replacing that emperor's head by his own, since, as he wished to win favour from the Christians, it would be an act of policy to overthrow a memorial of a notorious persecutor. When the four reliefs were transferred to his arch, the two, **C** and **F**, celebrating the Persian

[1] Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, p. 148.
[2] Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 147. [3] Fulvio, *Ant. Urbis Romae* (1527), iv. p. 60.
[4] Richter, *Topographie d. Stadt Rom*, p. 261 ; Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie*, i. 3. p. 469.
[5] *Topographia* (1534), p. 136.
[6] *Bull. Comm.* 1895, p. 46, 1 ; Matz-von Duhn, *Ant. Bildwerke in Rom*, 3525.
[7] Michaelis, *Jahrbuch*, 1891, p. 231, 69.
[8] *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*
[9] Hülsen, *Roman Forum*, p. 95 ; v. *Röm. Mitt.* 1893, p. 281.

riumph were relegated to the ends, since they could not have much connection with Constantine. Instead two new reliefs **A** and **B** celebrating Constantine's victories over the champion of paganism were made for the south front, while the two colourless Diocletianic slabs **D** and **E** were inserted on the north side. As Constantine had no hesitation in breaking with tradition and being the first to erect a triumphal arch for victories won in a civil war, still less would he have avoided representing those victories of Roman over Roman in the decoration of his arch. Probably the sculpture on the short ends of **C** and **F** were made to match the rest after they were in position on the arch, just as two fresh medallions were made to bring the number up to the ten rendered necessary by architectural considerations.

As the style of these reliefs has formed the text for one of Riegl's most suggestive chapters,[1] it is not to the point to enter into it here. Also we cannot discuss the place of this frieze in the development of Roman reliefs, since from the age of Septimius Severus to that of Diocletian we have no monuments. Even if the opinions expressed above as to the Diocletianic date of **C, D, E,** and **F,** and their relation to his triumph are not accepted, it must be admitted that the replacing of the emperor's head on **D, E,** and **F** makes it certain that these reliefs are pre-Constantinian.

[1] *Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie,* Chap. II.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

VOL. IV. NO. 4

AN IVORY STATUETTE

BY

A. H. S. YEAMES, M.A.

Assistant Director of the British School at Rome

LONDON: 1907

AN IVORY STATUETTE.

THE department of Graeco-Roman Antiquities in the British Museum possesses among its ivories, which deserve perhaps more attention than has hitherto been paid to them, a small statue representing a hunchback[1] (Fig. 1).

The figure is three inches in height, and is placed on a circular moulded base, which is also of ivory and antique. The ivory has flaked and is worn away in places, but it is, as a whole, in good preservation, and nothing of importance has been lost. No information exists as to the provenance of the statuette, but it forms part of the Townley Collection, which was acquired by the Museum in 1805. That collection was made in Italy, and it may be presumed that the ivory was bought and probably found in the same country.

The hunchback is crouching with his right leg bent under him and his right arm, of which the hand is lost, hanging loosely by his side. His left arm is bent at the elbow and rests on his left knee. The figure is thin and remarkably pigeon-breasted. The collar-bone also is prominent. The head is sunk into the shoulders and leans over towards the left shoulder, which is noticeably lower than the right. The hair, which will be discussed below, is cut very short, the ears are large, the nose aquiline, and great prominence is given to the bone structure above the eyes. In every detail the artist shows an unsparing realism and the most minute observation of an abnormal subject.

Students of the treatment of disease or deformity in ancient art have not failed to notice the statuette. Dr. Mark in a recent paper[2] mentions it as giving a good representation of a person suffering from

[1] I owe to the kindness of Mr. Cecil Smith permission to publish the statuette.

[2] *The Lancet*, December 22, 1906. See also Richer, *L'Art et la Médecine*, p. 193.

Pott's disease, and praises it as 'a very finished piece of workmanship.' It clearly deserves the careful attention of any writer on the subject.

The date of the figure cannot, I think, be doubtful. Sir Charles Newton,[1] who described it as 'an admirable piece of naturalistic sculpture,'

FIG. 1.—IVORY STATUETTE OF A HUNCHBACK IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

wrote many years ago that it 'may be a work of one of the later Greek schools.' It seems indeed at first sight to be connected with that group of

[1] *Guide to the 2nd Vase Room.* Part I. (1878), p. 52.

small grotesque bronzes, which has lately been not infrequently discussed.[1] In those bronzes there is, however, a conscious exaggeration of treatment, which does not appear in the ivory. They were probably intended, as Mr. Wace has shown, to be used as charms against the evil eye, remote ancestors of the modern *gobbo*. No such intention can, I think, be detected here. The ivory-carver has observed every detail of his subject and has not shrunk from reproducing it in his statuette. He has not selected, and so far he is no artist, but he has not exaggerated.

The closest parallel to the ivory is given by a small bronze statuette at Vienna[2] (Fig. 2). Here again is a hunchback, erect instead of crouching, but resembling the British Museum statuette in many details. He is pigeon-breasted, his head is sunk into his shoulders, his expression is bitter and cruel. But even in this bronze there are exaggerated touches, which distinguish it from the ivory.

FIG. 2.—BRONZE STATUETTE OF A HUNCHBACK AT VIENNA.

I should be inclined to assign the latter figure to the first half of the third century A.D., chiefly on grounds of style. The literary evidence is, it may be noticed, not unfavourable to that period. A taste for the abnormal had grown to such a height among the Romans of the Empire that dwarfs and deformed persons formed an indispensable part of a great household. In the first century A.D. Domitian was the possessor of a dwarf *portentoso capite*, and Martial[3] speaks of the unfortunate prodigies (*moriones*): *acuto capite et auribus longis, quae sic moventur ut solent asellorum.* But the taste seems to have grown with the growth of luxury and, perhaps, with the increasing influence of the East at Rome. Elagabalus, for

[1] Wace, *B.S.A.* x. p. 103 ff.

[2] Von Sacken, *Bronzen*, Pl. 46, 5 (Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii, 561, 1). I owe a photograph of the bronze to the kindness of Dr. Robert von Schneider and of Dr. Fgger. The photograph has been slightly retouched.

[3] vi. 39, 15.

instance, had a particular passion for dwarfs, and collected so large a number, that his successor, Alexander Severus, was obliged to make a gift of them to the Roman people.[1]

The style of the ivory points to a period somewhat later than the reign of Alexander Severus. The brutal realism in the rendering of every detail, the treatment of the hair, which is cut close to the head and worked with little snicks of the tool—all these points agree in every way with the portraits of the time of the Gordians and of Philip the Arab. The florid style of the Antonine period passed away with Commodus or Septimius Severus, and the portraits of Caracalla announce a new manner, which gradually developed in the direction of a minute observation of detail and produced its most characteristic work in the Philip the Arab of the Braccio Nuovo.[2]

A brilliant work of the Antonine period, copied, it is true, from a Greek original, is fortunately preserved to demonstrate clearly the difference between the ideals and sympathies of the second and the third century A. D. That work is the Aesop of the Villa Albani.[3] A comparison of the ivory with the bust, although it is unfair on the craftsman of the smaller work, is illuminating. The Antonine artist was as concerned as his successor to mark the bodily deformity of his subject; his Aesop is as pigeon-breasted, as obviously abnormal, as the hunchback. But the treatment of the head is markedly different. In the Aesop it is intelligent and contented with what the Fates have given. In the hunchback the expression of his face indicates a fierce rebellion against destiny and a deformity of mind matching the deformity of body. The Antonine artist touches his subject with an ideal spirit, wishing to show the *mens sana* not necessarily *in corpore sano*. The later craftsman, more logical but less true to reality, has treated his subject relentlessly and minutely, as he saw it.

In the difference between the two works is expressed the course to be followed by art at Rome during the third century, which led to the decline of art in the fourth. The sculpture of the Constantinian age has lately found its champions. As a document in the history of art it is doubtless of extreme importance, but to speak of it as having beauty in any intelligible sense of the word is a misuse of language.

A. H. S. YEAMES.

[1] Lampridius, *Alex. Severus*, 34.
[2] Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikonographie*, ii. 3, Pl. XL.
[3] Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikonographie*, i., Pl. VII.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

VOL. IV. NO. 5

THE EARLY IRON AGE IN SOUTH ITALY

BY

T. E. PEET, B.A.

Student of the British School at Rome; Craven Fellow in the University of Oxford

LONDON: 1907

THE EARLY IRON AGE IN SOUTH ITALY.

To theorize with regard to the development of South Italy in prehistoric times is at once easy and dangerous: easy because the ascertained facts to be accounted for are few, dangerous because the chance of new and disconcerting discoveries is greatest in an unexplored territory. At the same time the theory which is at present most widely held with regard to the early iron age in South Italy is not entirely convincing. Until recently the history of South Italy in pre-Roman times was almost a complete blank, no explanation being possible because there were no facts to be explained. But the discoveries at Torre del Mordillo,[1] Spezzano Calabrese,[2] Piedimonte d'Alife,[3] Cuma,[4] Suessola,[5] and other places have lately provided a certain basis for construction. Very few attempts, however, have been made to supply the explanation of these data; indeed archaeologists were already well employed upon the far more copious material of Northern and Central Italy. But in 1899 interest in the south of the Peninsula was heightened by Quagliati's discovery of a terramara at Tarentum.[6] To anyone who has examined the immense mass of material from this site there can be no particle of doubt that the terramara of Scoglio del Tonno at Tarentum is exactly identical in type with the terremare of the Po valley. Moreover the bronzes of Scoglio del Tonno, especially the fibulae, prove conclusively that in date this station is contemporaneous with the later examples of Reggio Emilia. Indeed,

[1] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1888, pp. 239, 462, 575, 648.

[2] *Not. Scav.* 1902, pp. 33 *sqq.*

[3] *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1884, p. 225.

[4] Patroni, *Nuovi monumenti di una Cuma italica anteriore alla fondazione della colonia greca*, in *Bull. Pal.* xxv. p. 183. Most of the Cuman material, now in the Naples Museum, is shortly to be published. *Not. Scav.* 1896, pp. 531 *sqq.* *Bull. Pal.* xxiii. pp. 44 *sqq.*

[5] *Not. Scav.* 1878, pp. 97 *sqq.* and 1879, pp. 69, 187; *Bullettino dell' Istituto*, 1878, p. 145 and 1879, p. 141; *Römische Mittheilungen*, 1887, p. 235.

[6] *Not. Scav.* 1900, pp. 411 *sqq.*

we cannot hesitate to adopt Prof. Pigorini's conclusion that towards the end of the terramara period in the Po valley a body of the inhabitants detached themselves, and, making south, settled at Tarentum.[1]

This discovery was a strong confirmation of a theory which Prof. Pigorini had already suggested, viz. a parallel development in South and North Italy in the early iron age.[2] Here at Tarentum had actually been found indubitable remains of the very people who were responsible for the civilizations of the bronze age in the Po valley and of the early iron age in North Italy and the west coast, *i.e.* Etruria and Latium.

However, not all critics were agreed in regarding this as final. Prof. Patroni in particular insisted that the terramara at Tarentum was merely an isolated fact, and that it would not account for the data of the early iron age in the South.[3] He pointed out especially that all southern burials are by inhumation, while those of the terremare are by cremation, and that though in Latium and Etruria the iron age is rich in inhumations, the earliest burials of that age are invariably cremations.

But the contrary hypothesis seemed destined to receive a still more remarkable corroboration. In 1900 was discovered a cremation cemetery of the early iron age at Monte Timmari near Matera, on the Apulian border.[4] This cemetery, according to Prof. Pigorini, is the link which binds the terramara at Tarentum to the iron age inhumations of Torre del Mordillo and Piedimonte d'Alife, just as in North Italy Fontanella and Bismantova are the links between the terremare and Villanova.[5] And although Patroni expressed himself still unconvinced,[6] the theory of Pigorini appears to have been accepted, provisionally at least, in many quarters.

In the first place it is necessary to be quite clear as to what exactly this theory is. Prof. Pigorini, in an article in the *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana*,[7] states definitely that in South Italy we have the same phases of civilization in the age of bronze and the early age of iron as in the North. And indeed, to a certain extent this is true. The bronze age

[1] *Bull. Pal.* xxvi. p. 21.

[2] *Not. Scav.* 1888, p. 240 and *Bull. Pal.* passim.

[3] *Monumenti Antichi*, ix. 610, note 1. For similar views expressed previous to the new discovery see *Bull. Pal.* xxv. 193 and xxvi. 182–3.

[4] *Mon. Ant.* vol. xvi. Part I, and *Not. Scav.* 1900, p. 345.

[5] *Bull. Pal.* xxvii. 22. [6] *Bull. Pal.* xxvii. 55, note 1.

[7] *Bull. Pal.* xxvii. 24.

is represented by the terramara at Tarentum, and the iron age by Timmari and the later cemeteries of Piedimonte d'Alife, Torre del Mordillo, Suessola, Cuma, etc. We are further told that these later cemeteries are of the advanced period when for the old funeral rite of cremation the Italici of the first age of iron had substituted inhumation. We have also, according to Prof. Pigorini, (in Taranto and Timmari) the first links and (in Alife and Mordillo, etc.) the last links of the chain in which the *true and properly so-called Villanova civilization* formed a part. And finally the civilization of the early iron age in the South was in connexion or relation with that of Villanova in Central Italy and the valley of the Reno.

From the article in question we may, I think, justly infer the following facts as to Prof. Pigorini's view. Firstly, that late in the bronze age a body of terramara folk left the valley of the Po and settled at Tarentum. Secondly, that these people introduced into South Italy the civilization of the Italici properly so-called. Thirdly, that this civilization was in connexion with the similar civilization in North and Central Italy. Fourthly, that it developed through a period of cremation into the inhumation phase shown at Alife or Mordillo, that is, through a period representing Villanova culture truly and properly so-called.

The first of these facts, namely the settlement at Tarentum, is undeniable. But that terramara influence was either strong or wide-spread in the South, the evidence seems insufficient to prove. Prof. Pigorini gives us no hint as to the numbers of the terramara people who descended as far as the Ionian Sea, but there are good reasons for supposing that they were not very large. In the first place the journey to Tarentum was a very much more enterprising project than that into the valley of the Tiber or into the Etruscan plain, and moreover by an essentially agricultural folk it would have to be performed between harvest and the following seedtime. Such a journey is not one suitable for large numbers, nor can we accept the hypothesis that it was frequently performed, for in such a well-explored territory as the eastern plain, there is only one sign of such migration, viz. a doubtful station near Offida.[1] In fact, in the light of present discovery, it is too much to ask us to believe that the Italici of the terremare are directly and personally responsible for the iron age civilization of South Italy. Nor do the tomb of Parco dei Monaci[2] and the necropolis of Timmari lend very

[1] Allevi, G. *Offida preistorica*, 1889, pp. 31–32.

[2] *Bull. Pal.* xxii. 289.

strong support to the theory. Both are, doubtless, closely connected with the station at Tarentum, but neither takes us very far forward in date. The first, combining as it does the terramara dagger with the axe with flanged edges, is not later than the terremare. The second, with its elementary form of ossuary and its comparative lack of burial furniture takes us very little further. For, if the ossuaries have handles, and are guarded by an inverted *scodella*, so are those of Casinalbo, Copezzato, and Crespellano,[1] which are actual terramara cemeteries. Moreover, one ossuary sometimes contains remains of more than one person, in one case of several adults and a child, precluding the possibility of a burial after battle and proving that the ossuary remained open and ready for successive burials. This is in itself a proof of early date; but when we add that in some cases two ossuaries stood almost in juxtaposition, one a step higher than the other, it becomes clear that Timmari is very little later than Scoglio del Tonno itself. So much then for the only link which at present binds Tarentum to Mordillo and Alife. So many links are missing that we are driven to look elsewhere for a stronger and more complete chain.

That this southern civilization was in connexion with the true and properly so-called Villanova civilization of Upper Italy Prof. Pigorini certainly intends us to believe, because he insists so strongly on the presence in South Italy of vessels of the exact Villanova ossuary shape,[2] and of a belt of Villanova form.[3] In other words there must still have been, subsequent to the time when the Villanova ossuary developed in the North, an influx of Villanova civilization, if not of people, into the South; for surely we need not consider the alternative that the same civilization with the same ossuary developed in two unconnected quarters.

If this influx did take place it must have followed one of two routes, east or west of the Apennines. To these there is no third alternative, and I think it can be shown that both these two routes are impossible, leading to insuperable difficulties of chronology, etc.

Let us begin with the East.

By preparing a very careful map of the iron age distributions in Italy we obtain several interesting results. (See map, Pl. XXXVIII.)[4]

[1] Montelius, *La Civilisation Primitive en Italie*, vol. i. tav. 38, Fig. 15, tav. 39, Figs. 11 and 16.

[2] *Bull. Pal.* xxvii. 16–17. [3] *Bull. Pal.* xxvii. 17.

[4] The map indicates the principal localities where remains of the early iron age have been found and the groups into which they fall. Those marked with some form of square are due to

In the extreme North we find two groups, Golasecca in the West and Este in the East. In the Po valley we have Villanova proper, and south-west of this the Villanova civilization in two different forms which can be fairly distinctly separated. These are firstly the Tuscan form and secondly the Latian. But there is still another form which for our present purpose is highly important: this is the so-called Novilara or Alfedena civilization, which occupies the eastern slope of the Apennines.[1] It is unnecessary to describe here the leading characteristics of this civilization. Suffice it to say that it is remarkably distinctive and homogeneous. If the stations be accurately plotted out on a map it will be found that it is not essentially a civilization of traders. Few of its stations are actually on the coast, and foreign imports are rather rare. Indeed, it strikes inland wherever a sufficiently good valley offers an inducement. This occurs several times, the valleys in question being those of the Metauro, Chienti, and Tronto. The number of stations known is remarkably large, being over forty. The most northerly is Novilara, near Pesaro, and from here they run in a south-easterly direction, occupying the coast plain and the valleys.

In the presence of this civilization in the eastern half of Italy during the iron age, we have a decisive proof that the Adriatic slope of the Apennines was not the route by which Villanova influence penetrated into South Italy. Of the true and properly so-called Villanova civilization there is no trace in this district. Cremation, the burial of the Italici, is virtually absent, even at Novilara.[2] The earlier Villanova forms of pottery do not occur, in fact it is very doubtful whether any of the burials can be carried further back than the eighth century B.C., and if a current of Villanova civilization had been passing through this district in early times the inhabitants could not have remained so long in their primitive condition. The skeletons are dolichocephalic and there is little doubt that the civilization is due to descendants of the neolithic inhabitants under the influence of their Villanova neighbours. Thus, if the difficulties of establishing any considerable relations between South and North Italy by means of the eastern slope

the Italici descending from the North; those marked with some form of circle to the original Ibero-Liguri of the neolithic age. The complete isolation of the Italici at Timmari is evident. The map also shows how the civilization of the group marked Novilara moves southwards up the river-valley, converging on Alfedena, and suggesting that it penetrated into Campania.

[1] Brizio in *Mon. Ant.* vol. v. and Mariani in *Mon. Ant.* vol. x.

[2] Brizio in *Mon. Ant.* vol. v. and Mariani in *Mon. Ant.* vol. x.

were great for the bronze age, they are still greater for the early iron age, both from the chronological and ethnological standpoints. So much for the East. Let us now take the West. Here the difficulties of Prof. Pigorini's theory seem fewer. But I think they are still insuperable. In Tuscany and Latium we have two civilizations very similar to one another and both without doubt due to emigrations of terramara folk from the Po valley. As Prof. Pigorini has so admirably shown over and over again, we can trace them from their beginning to their end, and we invariably find that they begin with cremation, for which inhumation is gradually substituted. What more easy, then, than to suggest that the Italici of these districts carried their civilization further south into Campania and Lucania, and that it was by means of the country west of the Apennines that connexion between North and South was kept up? Such a hypothesis, however, will not fit the facts. For in Campania we have very complete evidence of a civilization which it is usual to call pre-Hellenic. It has many traits in common with the Latin, but the typical cremation burial of the Italici is entirely absent. In fact, in view of the copious amount of material now excavated, we can affirm a strong probability that the Campanian plain never had the true and properly so-called Villanova civilization, and that the Italici never established themselves there. If this is the case—and it seems almost unreasonable to deny it—the western route is shut to us as absolutely as the eastern, for we cannot possibly use the Campanian stations, which are the last links in the chain, to explain the earlier links yet to be found in the South. Of course it is still possible that earlier graves may be found in Campania with cremation burials. But in the first place it must not be forgotten that those already found are undoubtedly pre-Hellenic, and even dismissing the traditional date of the foundation of Cuma as incredible, they certainly take us back to the early eighth century; and in the second place the theory of probability has a certain value even in questions of excavation.

The fact is that the settlement of terramara folk in the South is left isolated. Immigrations from North to South in the earliest age of iron do not appear to have taken place to any great extent. Finally, what evidence there is is against, rather than in favour of, a Villanova phase in South Italy developing from the immigration of terramara folk, nor is it probable that cremation was ever practised there except among the limited circle of Italici round Tarentum.

Having decided, then, that the civilization of the South is not to be adequately explained from Tarentum and Timmari, it is necessary to look elsewhere. With this in view it was necessary to make a careful examination of the Campanian material, trying to distinguish the different elements in it, and comparing it with that of the rest of Italy. The material examined was that of Cuma, Capua, Suessola, and the valley of the Sarno.[1] Unhappily the objects excavated at Piedimonte d'Alife seem to be irretrievably lost, and despite continued inquiry I was unable to find a trace of them. The loss is, however, partly repaired by the very complete account of the excavations published by Dressel in *Ann. Ist.* 1884. One expected a priori to find in this material close affinities not only with Latium (the two districts having had much in common in earlier times) but also with the East of Italy, and that for the following reason. In making the map of the iron age distributions above referred to, the civilization of Novilara or Alfedena was found to run from Novilara southwards along the eastern slope of Italy. But after passing longitude 14° a remarkable phenomenon occurs. The coast plain is abandoned and the line of stations runs inland towards the hill country up two separate valleys, those of the Pescara and the Sangro. In the former there are no fewer than nine stations, forming a very complete chain; in the latter there are at fewest three. But perhaps the most remarkable fact of all is that both these lines converge on Alfedena,[2] which is so far the most southerly station discovered.

How then are we to account for this abandonment of the coast plain? Certainly not by a change in the character of the country. The more southerly part of the plain is exactly similar to the north, with the exception that it is perhaps more fertile. The reason is rather to be sought in the fact that the country in question was already occupied by a different race or tribe, perhaps, by the people to whom we owe the so-called pre-Hellenic painted pottery of Apulia. Certainly the presence of an Apulian painted vase in a grave at Novilara offers at least a chronological confirmation of this hypothesis.[3]

Returning once more to the distribution map we notice another striking fact, namely that the line of stations running inland from the Adriatic coast up to Alfedena is continued on the west side of the mountain pass by the line of Campanian stations, Piedimonte d'Alife,

[1] *l.c.* and *Bull. Pal.* xxvii. 41. [2] Mariani, *l.c.*
[3] *Mon. Ant.* vol. v. pp. 296–7, Figs. 77 and 78.

Capua, Nola, Suessola, Cuma. We naturally ask whether this line across the Apennines marks the path of an advancing civilization or whether it is in reality sharply broken at Alfedena.

It certainly seems unlikely that Alfedena, which is perhaps the richest station of its class, and on which the whole civilization converges should be a cul de sac. The town stands in the centre of the natural pass across the Apennines, the road which ascends the mountain chain from the valleys of the Pescara and Sangro and descends into Campania by the valley of the Volturno. A Roman road ran over this pass through Sulmona, Aufidena, and Allifae to Capua and Cuma, and the modern railway follows exactly the same course. It seemed a probable hypothesis, then, that Campania owed some part of its civilization to Novilara and the East of Italy.

It may be said at once that this hypothesis received very slight confirmation indeed from the examination of the objects themselves. There were certainly signs of active trade between the two districts. In a grave at Suessola, for example, occurred one of the curious four-handled jars peculiar to Alfedena, while the simpler two-handled jar of Piedimonte d'Alife[1] is also paralleled at Alfedena. But these signs of trade are not numerous. There are indeed other resemblances, but they are clearly seen to be due either to a common neolithic source or to foreign influence in both districts alike. For instance we find in Campanian graves two kinds of pottery, a rough kind, made of a yellow-grey clay, and a finer sort made of the dark grey Italian 'impasto.' The shapes of the former kind nearly all have their parallels among the pottery of Novilara type, while the latter bear no resemblance to it. The simple reason is that those shapes for which in Campania the yellow clay is used are precisely those which have survived from neolithic times, and are therefore to be expected in the Novilara district, where neolithic influences persisted down to the iron age. Such shapes are the ovoid handleless jars with a flattened foot, sometimes ornamented with four knobs or a band of clay in relief below the rim; or the hemispherical cups often with a handle rising above the lip; or the jars with an outcurving rim and incurving foot, which occur in so many Campanian graves. All these shapes are survivals in both districts from neolithic times, and many are found early in the bronze age in the

[1] Compare *Mon. Ant.* x. pp. 278–282, Figs. 16*b*, 18*a*, 19*b*, 20*b*, 21*b* with *Ann. Ist.* 1884, tav. O, Figs. 1 and 12.

Grotta della Pertosa at Salerno[1] and in the Siculan village at Matera.[2] Their occurrence, therefore, in both localities must not be taken to prove close connexion during the iron age. Indeed, a glance at the finer Campanian 'impasto' pottery shews this at once, for its forms bear little likeness to those of Novilara.

Or again the occurrence both in the Novilara and the Campanian districts of bronze pendants and armlets of fixed type is insufficient to prove reciprocal influence, for all the objects have close parallels in Greece and may have been imported into both districts from a common source. Similar remarks apply to the vases of 'feeding-bottle' or 'tea-pot shape.' These vases are very frequent in both districts, yet nothing can be argued from the fact, because the form is known to be not Italian but Greek.

In fact all the evidence at our disposal forces us to believe that Campania did not owe its iron age civilization to Novilara. The existence of trade relations between the two districts is indisputable, but the majority of the similarities are manifestly due either to a common neolithic origin or to foreign influence coming from a common source.

The conclusion is that the road of which Alfedena was the centre was probably open from very early, perhaps neolithic, times. The civilization of Alfedena did not extend into Campania, the chief reason being that by the time this civilization developed in Alfedena Campania had already acquired a civilization from elsewhere, as we shall see presently. Alfedena owes its importance to its position at the head of the pass by which the Campanian civilization exported its wares into eastern Italy and vice-versa. It is in fact the point of contact of the two civilizations. No doubt it exercised some small influence on its neighbours in Campania, but with the unadulterated Campanian civilization as seen in the earliest graves of Striano or Cuma it had nothing to do.

A very different result awaits us when we compare Campania with Latium. We see almost at a glance that the Campanian civilization is in a very high degree directly derived from the Latian. Previous to the iron age there had been communications between the districts: the same forms of early pottery occur in both, notably the cup with double-pierced handle, which occurs in the Grotta della Pertosa and is therefore quite early.[3] At the beginning of the iron age terramara folk settled in Latium

[1] *Mon. Ant.* vol. ix. p. 546.
[2] *Mon. Ant.* vol. viii. p. 418.
[3] *Mon. Ant.* vol. ix. p. 569, Fig. 20.

and introduced new elements of civilization. It is remarkable that of these new elements in their earliest form there is no trace in Campania. I mean to say that, comparing the material of the earliest iron age in the two districts, the striking fact is the absence from Campania of several of the most typical forms of pottery found in Latian graves of the very early type, often in combination with hut-urns.[1] After the period in question follows one in which virtually every Latin form is represented in Campania, and finally a third in which we again look almost in vain for Latin forms. This third period is for Latium roughly that of Civita Castellana, marked by an abundant use of pottery forms imitating those of metal, and by the rough painted pottery of unrefined clay with red ornament on a buff slip.

From these comparisons I should argue that while the Italici were developing their civilization in Latium, Campania was being subjected to a different influence coming from Greece and the Aegean. When, however, the Italici had firmly established themselves in Latium, their influence (though not they themselves) penetrated into Campania. Here it did not so much form the iron age civilization as modify that already formed by contact with Greece.

Such then is the iron age civilization of Campania. It is due to a neolithic people and abounds in survivals from an earlier age. The new impulse is given not from Italy but from abroad, while later modifications arrive indirectly from the Italici of the North. To the terramara at Tarentum or the cremation settlement at Timmari Campania owes absolutely nothing. Nor was it indebted to the civilization of Novilara for any but a few of the later elements of the Iron Age.

Chronological evidence seems to confirm this. In a few of the earliest iron age graves of Latium and Campania occurs pottery of a geometric type with strong Mycenaean reminiscences.[2] From this we may argue that both Latium and Campania were subject at a comparatively early date to influence from some part of the Aegaean where Mycenaean elements persisted in the early geometric period. In fact a large jar found in one of the graves of the Striano valley has very close parallels in the geometric period in Crete.[3] Thus it seems probable that the early pre-

[1] *E.g.* at Grottaferrata. Cf. *Not. Scav.* 1902, pp. 135 *sqq.* and *Mon. Ant.* xv. p. 350.
[2] *Mon. Ant.* vol. xv. tav. ix. Figs. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8 and pp. 697–8.
[3] *Bull. Pal.* vol. xxvii. tav. iv. Fig. 3.

Hellenic graves in Campania go back to the ninth or at least the eighth century. Alfedena, however, is undoubtedly later than this, in fact it is attributed by Mariani to the seventh to fourth centuries,[1] though the *terminus a quo* is too early rather than too late. Thus chronological reasons too forbid any attempt to explain the Campanian civilization by means of that of Novilara.

Summing up, then, the evidence as to the influence of the Italici in Campania we find that it points to the following conclusions. The people who inhabited the district in the neolithic and in the bronze age became at the end of the latter period subject to influence from the Greek world. This influence began to make itself felt at least a century before the foundation of the first Greek colony on the coast. The Italici never penetrated into Campania. Their influence was not felt there during the bronze age nor did their colony at Tarentum seriously affect the civilization of South Italy. When during the iron age their influence did arrive, it came through Latium and arrived only to find the civilization of Campania and South Italy already well advanced and fashioned after models taken from the Greek world.

Very similar is the story of the early iron age in the extreme South of the peninsula. At the end of the bronze age we find at Tarentum the Italici established in their terramara carrying on trade with the old neolithic people (Siculi) who live beside them.[2] But before the true iron age arrives the Italici have become absorbed, and almost every trace of their influence has disappeared. The iron age in fact is developed among the original inhabitants just as in Campania.

In Calabria the civilization of the iron age is even more purely indigenous, for apparently the Italici never reached the district. At Torre del Mordillo we find an inhumation cemetery containing pottery which shows strong survivals from the neolithic period, together with bronzes partly local and partly imported from Greece or elsewhere. Precisely similar facts may be noted at Crichi near Catanzaro.[3]

Finally it must not be forgotten that South Italy lay well within reach of the flourishing civilization of Sicily, and though during the

[1] *Mon. Ant.* vol. x. pp. 396 *sqq.*

[2] Cf. the 'Siculan' pottery found in the terramara by Quagliati, now in the Museum at Tarentum and shortly to be published.

[3] *Bull. Pal.* viii. p. 92.

bronze age no connexion seems to have existed,[1] there is evidence that very early in the iron age relations were established.[2]

The conclusion is, then, that the early iron age of South Italy had a different history from that of the North: it was not introduced by the Italici in person, except in the isolated case of the Tarentine district, but was due only indirectly to their influence, combined with that of the Greeks (possibly of Epirus) and in some cases of the Sicilians.

[1] Orsi instances the complete absence from Sicily during Period II of the bronze pins so common in the terremare and contemporary hut-settlements.

[2] Compare the resemblances between the material, especially the bronzes, of Finocchito (Siculan Period III) and that of pre-Hellenic Campania. At the same time it is possible that the similarity is largely due to the same foreign influence acting on both districts.

Fig. 1. — THE PORTA LATINA.

Fig. 2. — FRONTISPIECE TO SIR R. COLT HOARE'S VIEWS OF THE VIA LATINA.

Fig. 1. — TOMBS ON THE VIA LATINA (SKETCH BY SIR R. COLT HOARE).

Fig. 2. — VILLA CALLED RUDERI DELLE VIGNACCE.

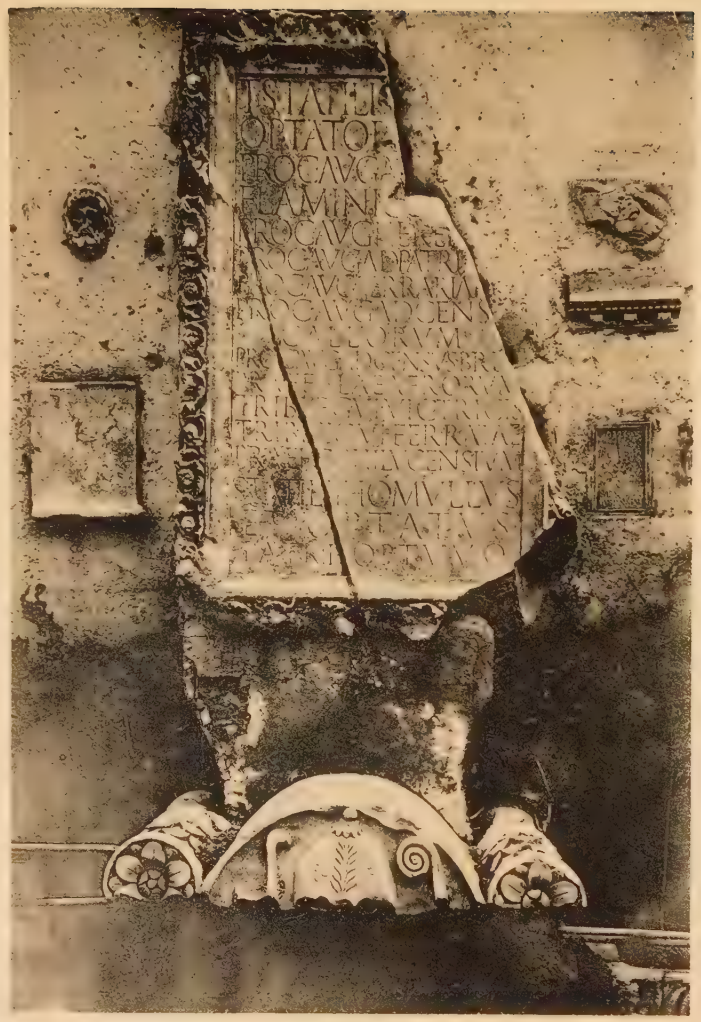


Fig. 1. — OBJECTS AT THE CASALE OF ROMA VECCHIA.

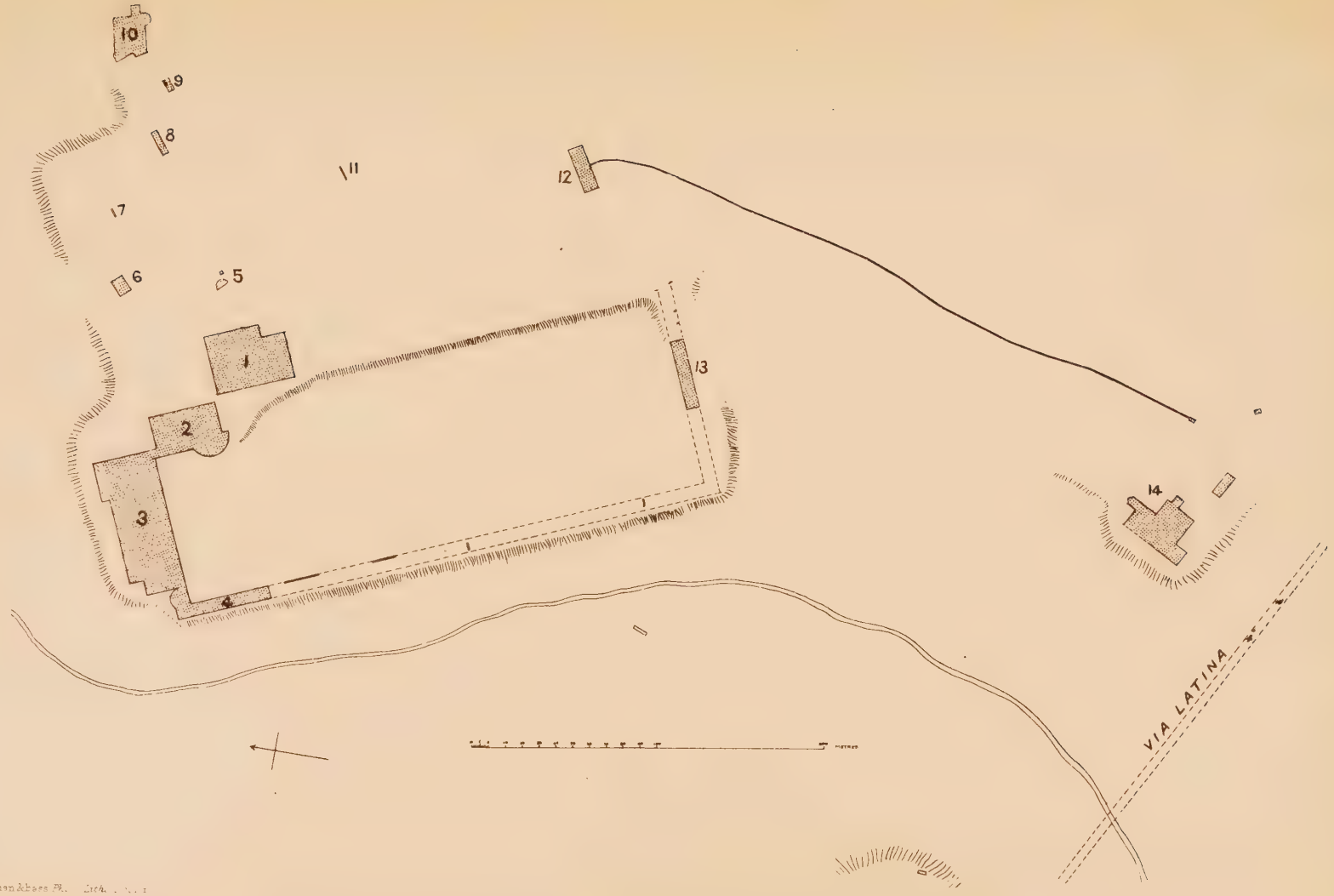
Fig. 2. — SETTE BASSI, GREAT HALL ON N.W.

Fig. 1. — SETTE BASSI, FROM N.W. (N.W. PORTION).

Fig. 2. — SETTE BASSI, FROM W.N.W. (E. PORTION).

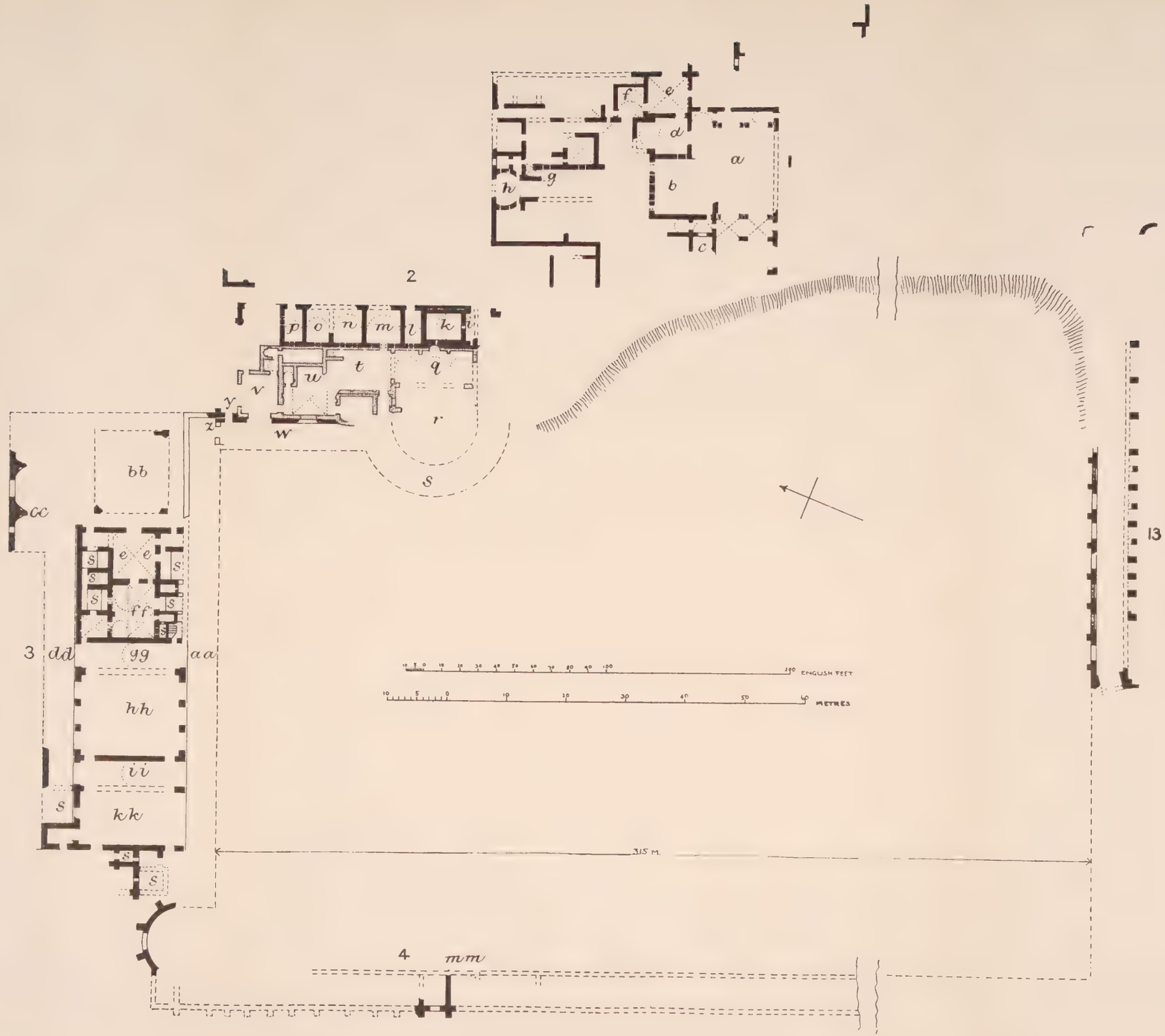
Fig. 1. — SETTE BASSI, FROM S.W (W. PORTION).

Fig. 2. — SETTE BASSI, FROM S.E. (N.W. PORTION).

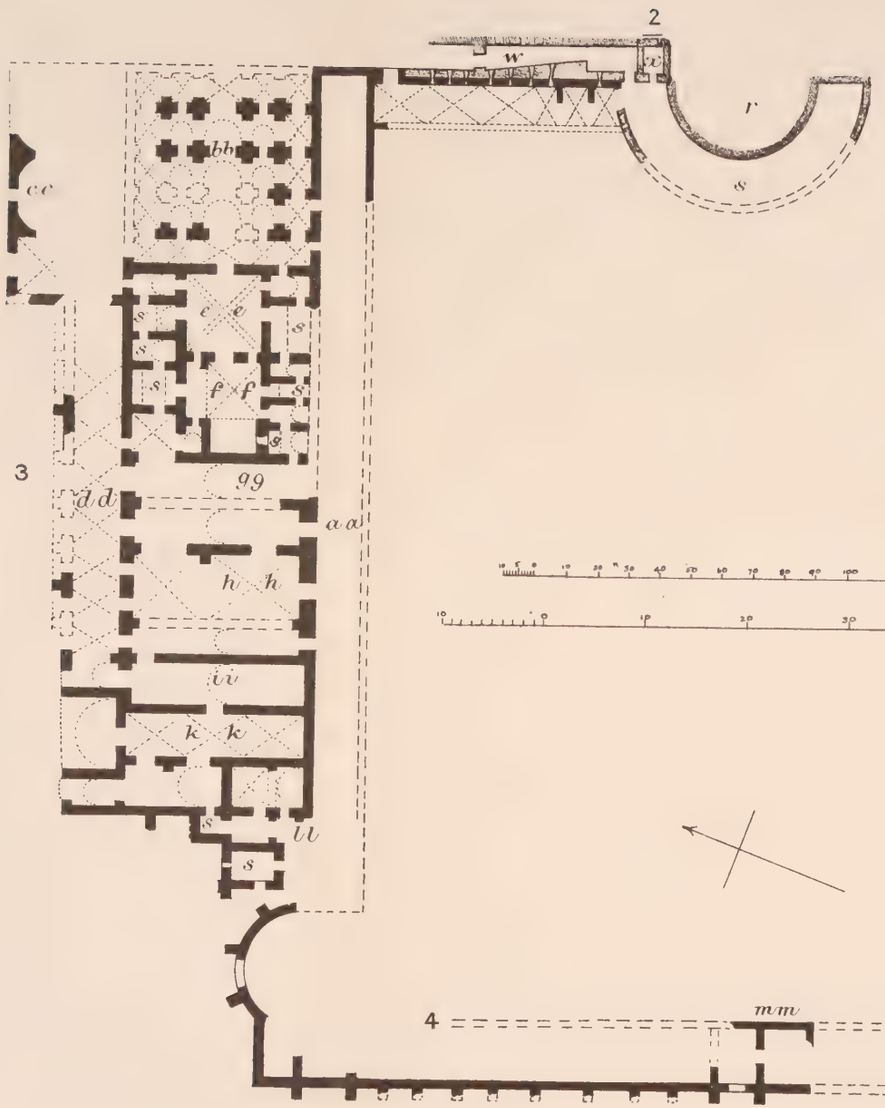


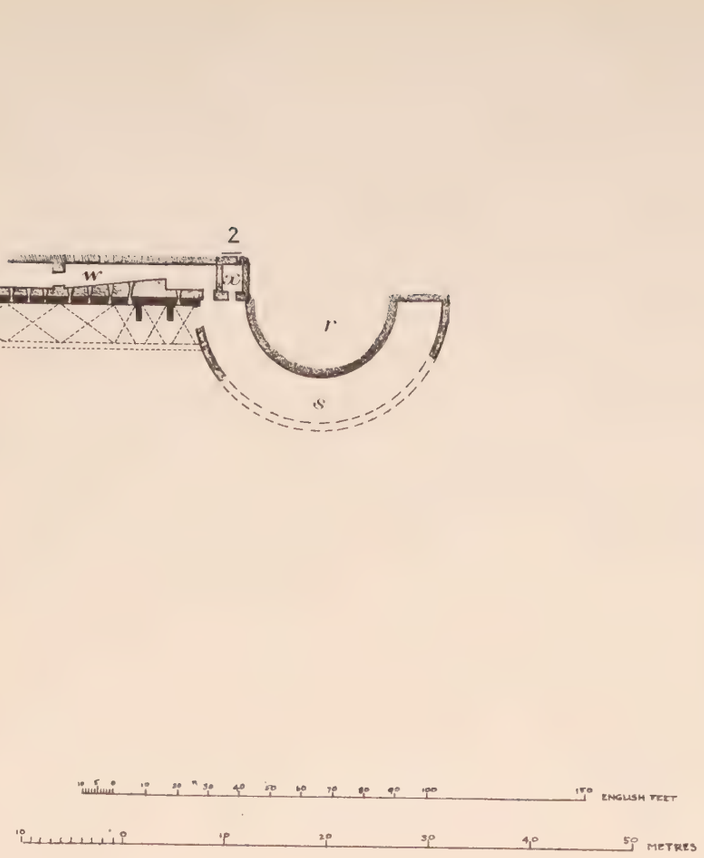
GENERAL PLAN OF THE VILLA CALLED SETTE BASSI.

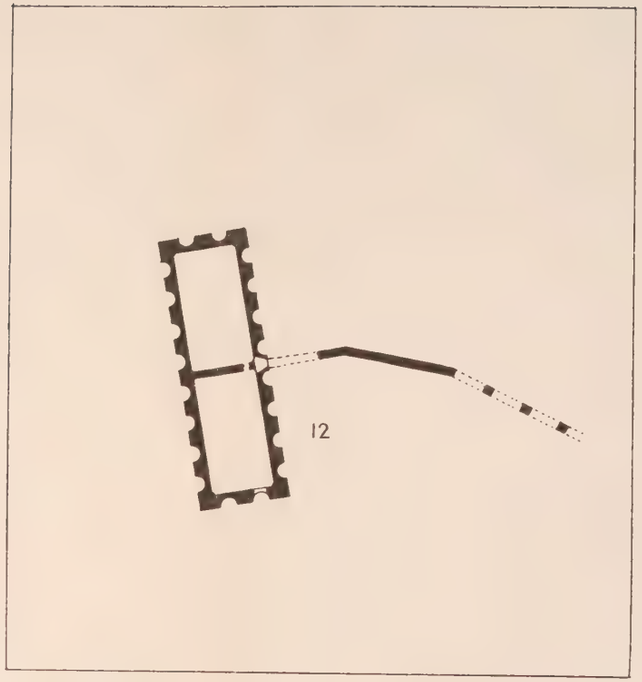
P.B.S.R. IV. Plate VI



CENTRAL PORTION OF THE VILLA CALLED SETTE BASSI.

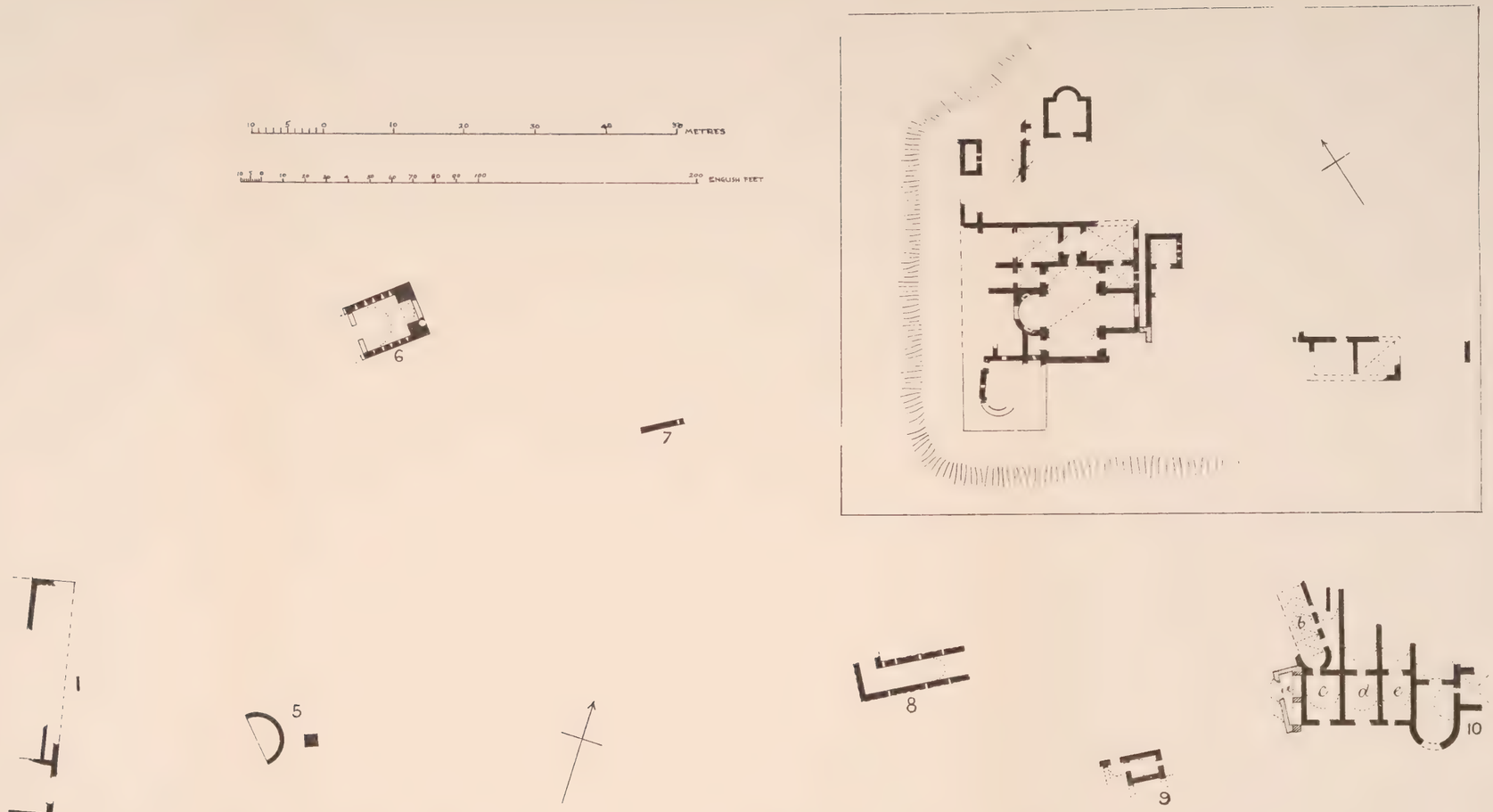






CENTRAL PORTION OF THE VILLA CALLED SETTE BASSI: PLAN OF SUBSTRUCTIONS.

Whiteman & Bass, *Photo-Lithc.* 236, High Holborn



VILLA CALLED SETTE BASSI: BUILDINGS ON N. E.

Fig. 1. — AQUEDUCT NEAR OSTERIA DEL CURATO.

Fig. 2. — AQUEDUCT NEAR MURO LINARI.

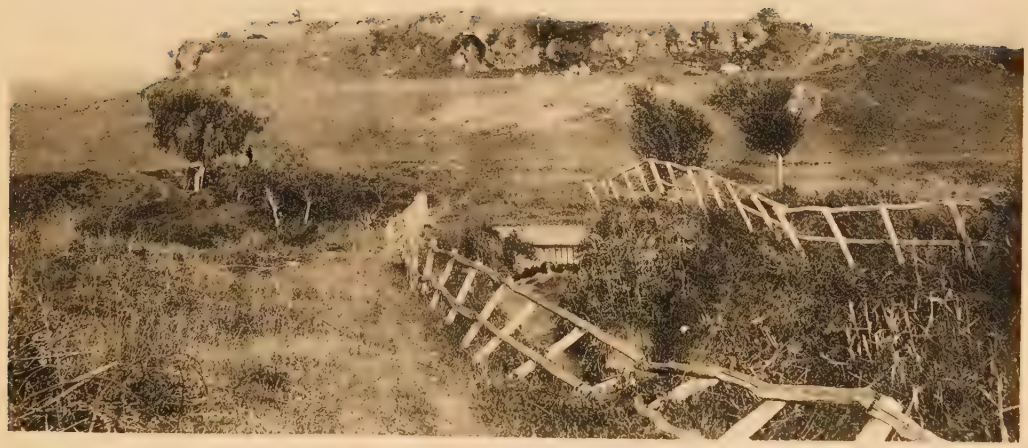


Fig. 1. — CENTRONI FROM N.W.

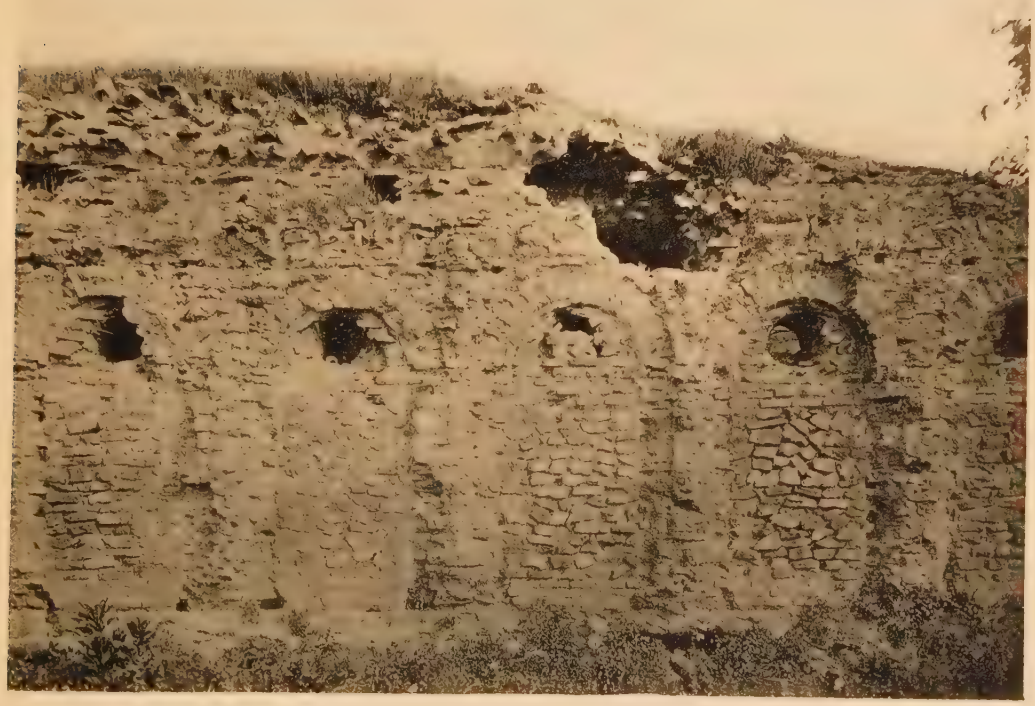
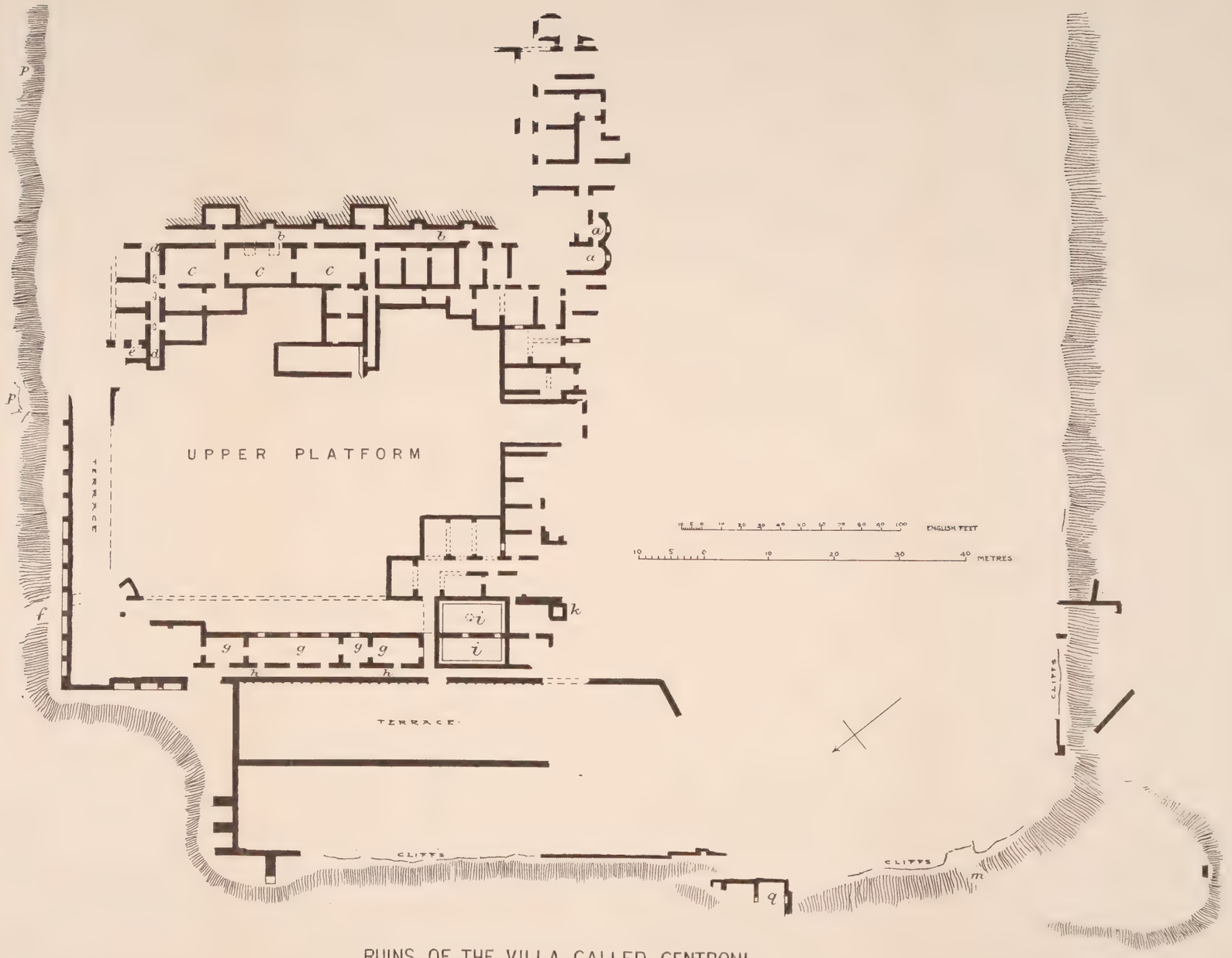
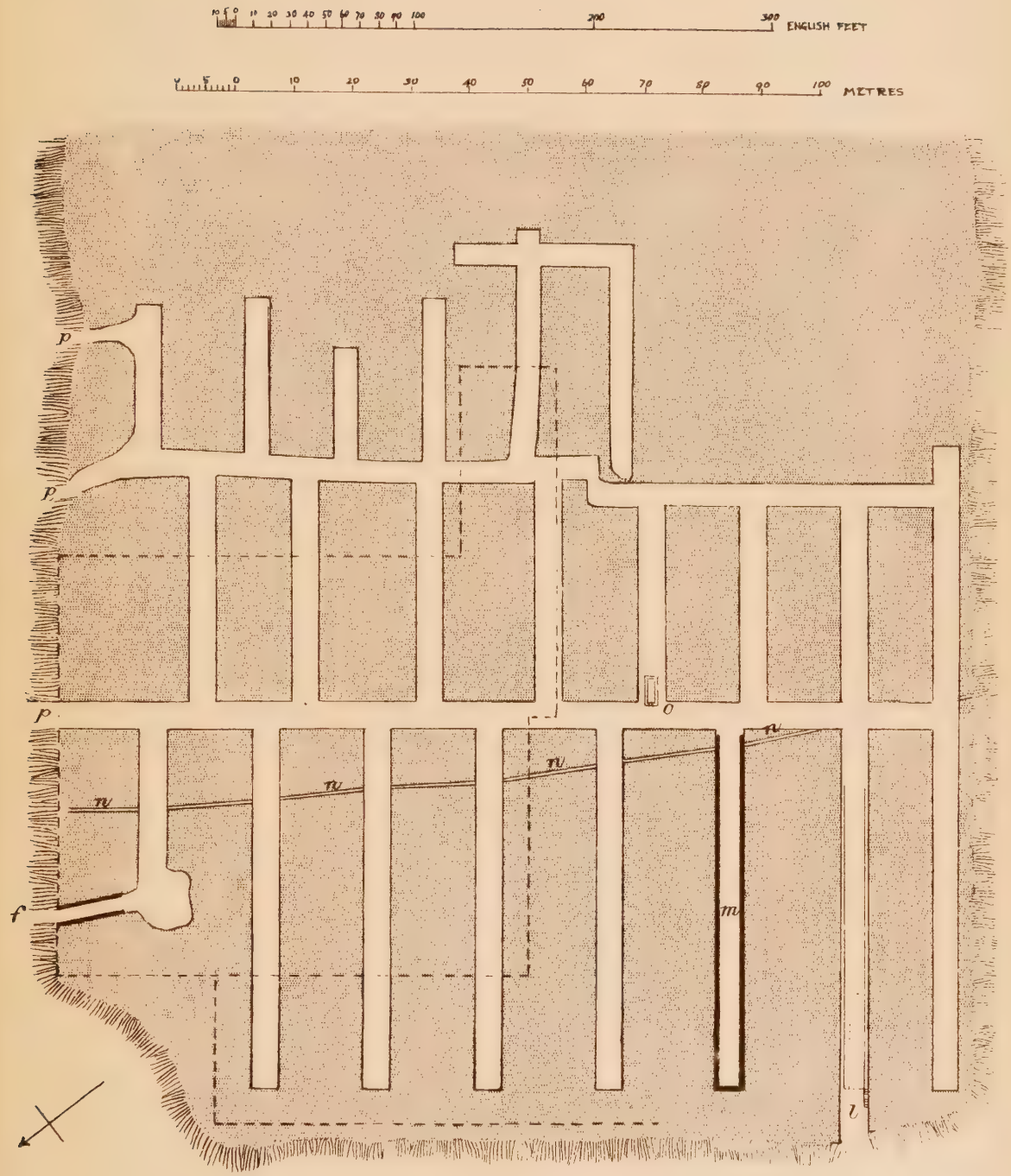


Fig. 2. — EXTERIOR OF CORRIDOR ON N.W., CENTRONI.



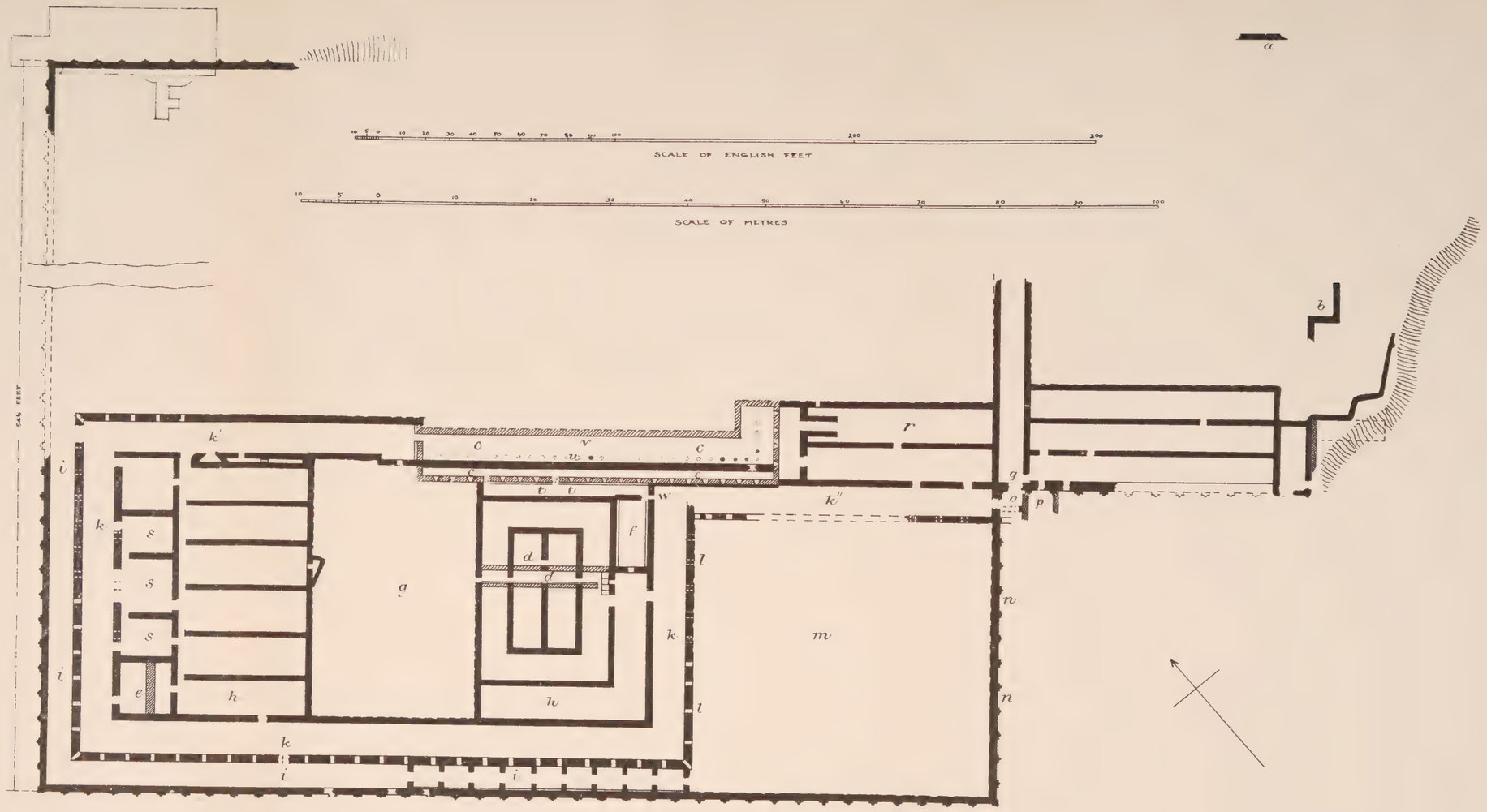
RUINS OF THE VILLA CALLED CENTRONI.



QUARRIES IN THE HILL UNDER CENTRONI.

Fig. 1. — TORRONE DI MICARA.

Fig. 2. — TERRACOTTA DISK FROM PONTE DI NONA.



PLAN OF THE SUBSTRUCTIONS OF THE VILLA NEAR FONTANA PISCARO.

Fig. 1. — COPPERPLATES WITH GOLDSMITHS' NAMES AND MARKS.

Fig. 2, 3. — AGNUS DEI OF INNOCENT XII.

Fig. 1. — GOLDSMITHS' MARKS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

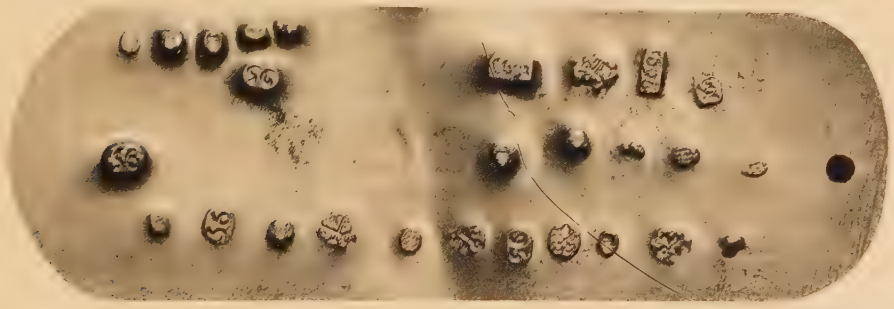


Fig. 2. — GOLDSMITHS' MARKS OF THE PAPAL STATES.

Fig. 1. — SEALS OF JOHN XXII, GREGORY XIII, AND INNOCENT VIII.

Fig. 2. — THE SAME SEALS (REVERSE).

Fig. 3. — SEAL OF PAUL II.

Fig. 1. — RELIQUARY AT S. MAURO CASTELVERDE. (FRONT)

Fig. 2. — THE SAME (BACK).

COD. VAT. LAT. 3439 F. 83.

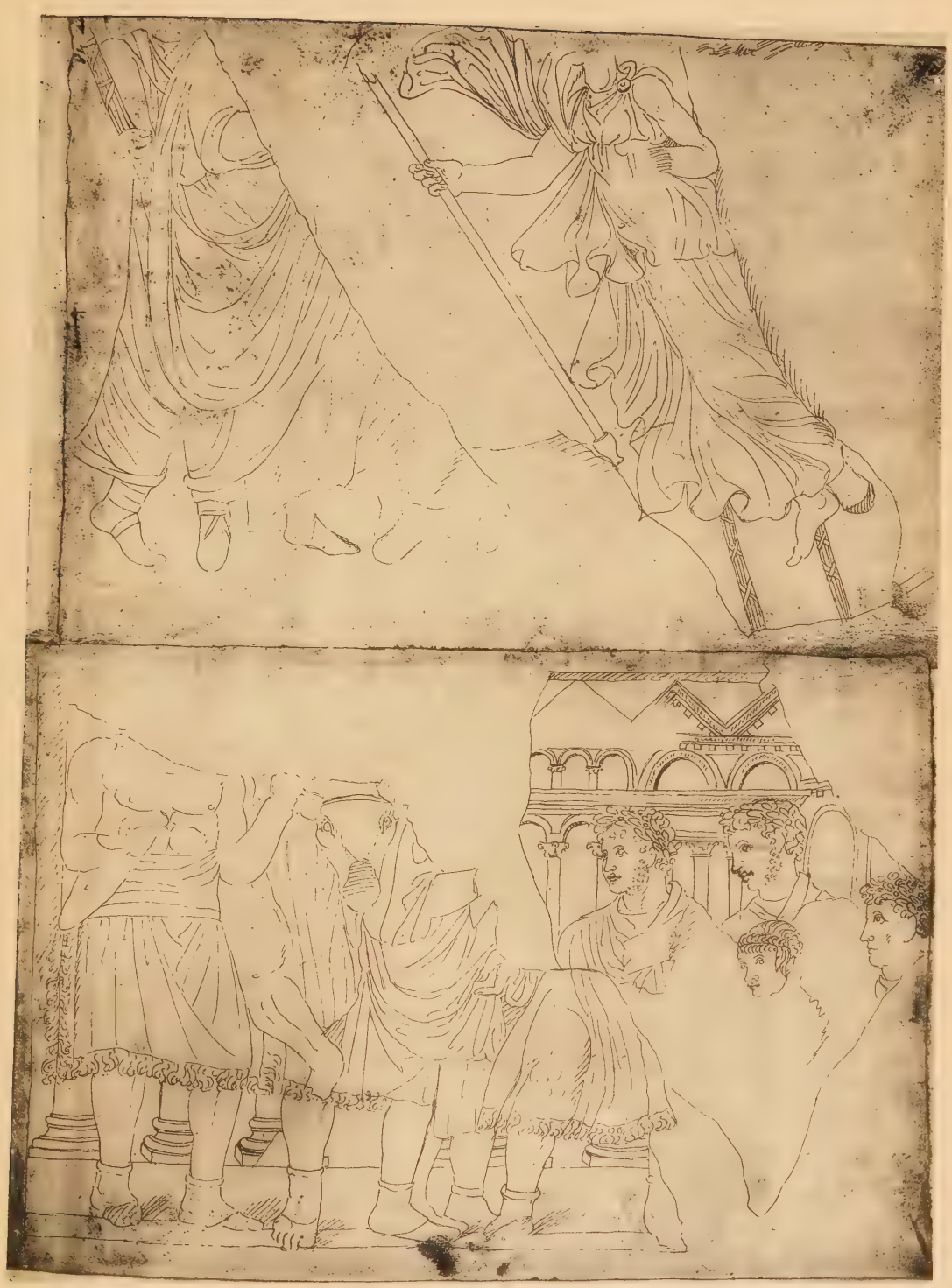
Phot. Sansaini.

COD. VAT. LAT. 3439 F. 85.

Phot. Sansaini.

COD. VAT. LAT. 3439 F. 86.

Phot. Sansaini.



COD. VAT. LAT. 3439 F. 88.

Phot. Sansaini.

Phot. Sansaini.

COD. VAT. LAT. 3439 F. 94.

Phot. Giraudon.

TRAJANIC RELIEF IN THE LOUVRE (1089)

Phot. Giraudon

TRAJANIC RELIEF IN THE LOUVRE (978) (LEFT HALF)

Phot. Giraudon.

AURELIAN RELIEF IN THE LOUVRE (1098)

Phot. Anderson.

TRAJANIC RELIEF ON THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE

RECONSTRUCTED DRAWING OF TRAJANIC RELIEF.

FRAGMENTS OF A TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION.

AURELIAN RELIEF IN LOUVRE, RECONSTRUCTED DRAWING.

FRAGMENTS OF SACRIFICIAL SCENE.

Fig. 1. HADRIAN MAKING AN ORATION.

Fig. 2. APOTHEOSIS OF SABINA.

RELIEFS FROM THE ARCO DI PORTOGALLO

Phot. Anderson

Phot. Faraglia.

RELIEF IN THE PALAZZO SACCHETTI

Fig. 1. THE ROUT OF MAXENTIUS BY CONSTANTINE AT THE PONS MULVIUS.

Fig. 2. THE SIEGE OF VERONA BY CONSTANTINE.

RELIEFS OF THE FRIEZE OF THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE, SOUTH SIDE.

Phot. Faraglia.

Fig. 1. CONGIARIUM OF DIOCLETIAN.

Fig. 2. DIOCLETIAN MAKING A PROCLAMATION FROM THE ROSTRA.

RELIEFS OF THE FRIEZE OF THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE, NORTH SIDE

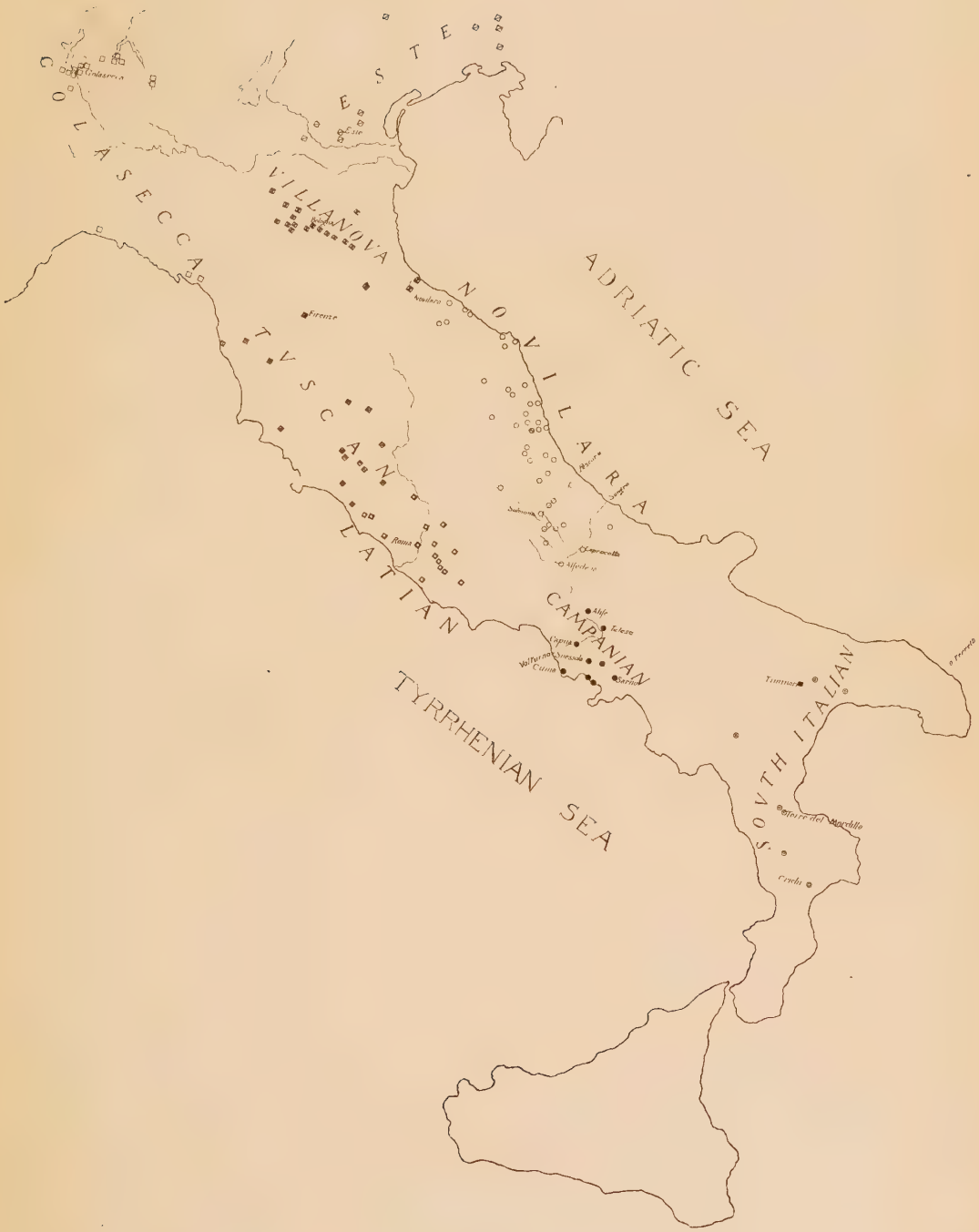
Phot. Faraglia

Fig. 1. TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION OF DIOCLETIAN.

Fig. 2. PART OF TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION OF DIOCLETIAN.

RELIEFS OF THE FRIEZE OF THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE, EAST AND WEST ENDS

Phot. Faraglia



MAP TO SHOW THE DISTRIBUTION OF CIVILIZATIONS IN ITALY IN THE IRON AGE.

BIBL.
LONDIN.
UNIV.